DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 311 686 FL 017 796

TITLE	The CATESOL Journal, Volume 1, Number 1.
INSTITUTION	California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
PUB DATE	Nov 88
NOTE	121p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	CATESOL Journal; v1 n1 Nov 1988
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation; Community Colleges; *English (Second Language); *Intercultural Communication; *Language Tests; *Program Effectiveness; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Writing Instruction
IDENTIFIERS	*California; Content Area Teaching; Test of Written English

ABSTRACT

This is the first issue of a new journal, to be published annually, by the California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (CATESOL). Articles in this issue include: "English as a Bridge between Cultures: Scotland, Carolina, and California" (Patricia C. Nichols); "Cambodian Refugees: Factors Affecting Their Assimilation and English Language Acquisition" (Usha Welaratna); "The 'Process Approach' to Writing Instruction: An Examination of Issues" (Christine Pearson Casanave); "Changing Models for Writing Instruction: Helping ESL Writers Develop a Sense of Audience" (Alice M. Roy, Sandra Mano); "Comprehensible Textbooks in Science for the Non-Native English Speaker: Evidence from Discourse Analysis" (Alice A. Addison); "A Study of Demographic Trends and Student Progress in San Jose City College's ESL Program, 1982-1987" (Alice Gosak); "Postsecondary ESL Programs in California: A Profile" (Karen L. Fox, Terrence G. Wiley); "Where Vocabulary Meets Grammar: Verb Subcategorization Errors in ESL Writers" (Philip Hubbard, Donna Hix); "Using Classroom Space: From Traditional Rows to Musical Chairs" (Elizabeth Leite); "Teachers' and Administrators' Concerns about the TOEFL Test of Written English" (Alice M. Roy); and "Tips on Working Effectively With a Multi-Cultural Work Force" (Paul M. Kameny). (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED311686

California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
E. A. Hale

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

The

Journal

VOLUME 1 ■ NUMBER 1 ■ NOVEMBER 1988

FL 017796

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The CATESOL Journal

VOLUME 1 ■ NUMBER 1 ■ NOVEMBER 1988

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

English as a Bridge Between Cultures: Scotland, Carolina, and California 5
Patricia C. Nichols

Cambodian Refugees: Factors Affecting Their Assimilation and English Language Acquisition 17
Usha Welaratna

The "Process Approach" to Writing Instruction: An Examination of Issues 29
Christine Pearson Casanave

Changing Models for Writing Instruction: Helping ESL Writers Develop a Sense of Audience 41
Alice M. Roy and Sandra Mano

Comprehensible Textbooks in Science for the Non-Native English Speaker: Evidence from Discourse Analysis 49
Alice A. Addison

A Study of Demographic Trends and Student Progress in San Jose City College's ESL Program, 1982-1987 67
Alice Gosak

Postsecondary ESL Programs in California: A Profile 77
Karen L. Fox and Terrence G. Wiley

Where Vocabulary Meets Grammar: Verb Subcategorization Errors in ESL Writers 89
Philip Hubbard and Donna Hix

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Using Classroom Space: From Traditional Rows to Musical Chairs .. 101
Elizabeth Leite

Teachers' and Administrators' Concerns About the TOEFL Test of Written English 105
Alice M. Roy

Tips on Working Effectively With a Multi-Cultural Workforce 109
Paul M. Kameny

REVIEWS

***Interactive Reading* by Suzanne Salimbene** 113
Reviewed by Carolyn Baker

***Strategies for Readers* —Book 1 and Book 2 by Christine Pearson Casanave** 117
Reviewed by Denise Murray

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The CATESOL Journal

Editors
Denise Murray, San Jose State University
Dorothy Messerschmitt, University of San Francisco

Editorial Advisory Board
David Eskey, University of Southern California
Johnnie Hafernik, University of San Francisco
Penny Larson, San Francisco Community College District
Carole Urzua, University of the Pacific

Additional Readers: Myron Berkman, Christine Pearson Cassanave, Peter Master, Melanie O'Hare, Elizabeth Whalley, Karen Yoshihara

Credits
Typing: Denise Mahon
Proof Reading: Anne Katz
Advertising: Chris Kitchel and Lois Facer
Design and Typesetting: CTA Graphics
Printing: Warrens Waller Press

Copyright © 1988
California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

1988-89 CATESOL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

President
Beverley McChesney
1865 Farndon Ave.
Los Altos, CA 94022
President-Elect
Sharon Seymour
Past President
Alice A. Addison
Secretary
Kara Rosenberg
Treasurer
Katheryn Garlow
Elementary Level Chair
Randi Friedenberg
Secondary Level Chair
Steve Sloan
Adult Level Chair
Gretchen Bitterlin
Community College Level Chair
Gari Browning
College/University Level Chair
Elizabeth Whalley
Assistant Secretary
Lori B. Brooks
Asst. Elementary Level Chair
Jeannie James
Asst. Secondary Level Chair
Myron Berkman
Asst. Adult Level Chair
Melanie O'Hare
Asst. Comm. Coll. Level Chair
Karen Yoshihara
Asst. Coll./Univ. Level Chair
Peter Master
CATESOL News
Denise Mahon
CATESOL Journal
Dorothy Messerschmitt
Denise Murray
Publications
Rita Wong
Advertising
Lois Facer
Christine Kitchel
Conferences
Lydia Stack
Exhibits
Steve Sloan
Historian
Sadae Iwataki
Membership
Leslie Jo Adams
Nominations
Leann Howard
Professional Development
Nancy Brooks
Benita Low
Public Relations
Alice Gosak
Sociopolitical Concerns
Lydia Stack
Teacher Education
Denise Murray
Kern Chapter Coordinator
Ann Marie Carbin
Nevada Chapter Coordinator
Patricia Hodges
Orange Chapter Coordinator
Carol Bander
Steinbeck Chapter Coordinator
Karen Grady
San Joaquin Chapter Coordinator
Jean Longmire
1989 State Conference Chair
Kent Richmond

The CATESOL Journal is published annually. Subscriptions are not sold without membership. Back copies (single issues) are available from Oxford Mailing Service, 12915 Telegraph Rd. D, Santa Fe Springs, CA 90670. Communication regarding permission to reprint must be addressed Dorothy S. Messerschmitt, 4 Lamp Ct., Moraga, CA 94556.

Advertising is arranged by Chris Kitchel and Lois Facer, American Language Institute, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132.

Membership inquiries should be directed to Leslie J. Adams, CATESOL Membership Chair, 4420 E. Orange Creek Lane, Anaheim, CA 92807.

Editors' Note

As editors of *The CATESOL Journal* we are delighted to introduce the first issue. The change from *Occasional Papers* to the publication of an annual journal reflects the growth of our professional organization, growth in both stature and number of members.

The articles reflect the breadth of interest areas of the membership. This issue includes articles on language history (Nichols), refugees (Welaratna), writing (Casanave; Roy and Mano), content instruction (Addison), demographics (Fox and Wiley; Gosak), and syntax (Hubbard and Hix).

Of course, this journal would not be possible without the high quality of the contributions. These contributions will make the journal an important addition to other journals in the field of ESL through its focus on classroom teaching.

We look forward to beginning work on the next issue.

Denise Murray
Dorothy Messerschmitt
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

PATRICIA C. NICHOLS
San Jose State University

English As a Bridge Between Cultures: Scotland, Carolina, and California

■ **This paper examines the function of holy texts in unifying diverse societies. Scotland and South Carolina, usually considered to be monolingual and homogeneous societies, are compared with contemporary multicultural California. How Scotland and South Carolina used specific written texts to unify peoples speaking many languages is discussed, with implications for California. The established church and school in Scotland, the competing churches and schools in Carolina, and the public school system in California are examined as agents in social and language change. The texts that might serve as unifying ones for a society like that of contemporary California are discussed, as well as the central role of educators in choosing texts that express shared social and spiritual values.**

As a teacher of prospective high school English Teachers, I often ask my students to participate in a Language Heritage exercise. In it, they first list the important points in their personal language history and then write an essay on their family language history—stretching as far back as their families have provided data in the form of stories and incidental memories (Heisch, Lamendella & Nichols, 1987). I do this because I have learned to expect diverse language backgrounds among Californians. Even those who are not immediately aware of the diversity within their own families become intrigued with the backgrounds of their classmates, as I ask groups from different language backgrounds to form panels and discuss their language experiences together and invite questions from the class. Sometimes, by the end of the course, students miraculously remember hearing about a Native American woman on one side of their family tree. Some suddenly remember speaking Yiddish as children. A larger number wonder at the silence in their families about what must have been rich German language backgrounds. Many make pilgrimages to the elders in their families to ask, before it is too late, who spoke what to whom—and how often, in what circumstances. Occasionally a student takes advantage of the miracles of modern technology to videotape a mother and a grandmother talking together in the ancestoral and the adopted languages. Always this exercise in getting in touch with personal roots illuminates and educates before we move on to the abstractions of what and whom these prospective teachers will encounter in this generation's English classes.

As we focus here on the larger topic of how English has formed a bridge between diverse cultures, I ask that each individual reader pause a moment to think about four sets of great-grandparents: what languages each of them probably (or possibly) spoke.

. . . .

Most of us will remember that at least one of the eight ancestors spoke a language other than English or, at the very least, that some of them spoke a nonstandard or creolized variety of English. Very few of us will have great-grandparents who all spoke the variety of English that we now speak.

How then, did we evolve into an "English-speaking" nation, into a state whose official language is now English? While that question is our primary focus here, related questions have to do with where we are going with this language that is not ours in some profound personal and cultural sense; with what we might have lost—or gained—in adopting this alien language; and with how we together are changing this thing we keep calling *English*. The question we must continually focus on as we try to see the larger picture is how we personally are linked with the struggles of our students to acculturate and assimilate into this English-dominant culture.

I pose this particular question because I have learned that teachers connect most profoundly with students' experiences when the teachers themselves are engaged in a search for connections to both the past and to the potential future. As a teacher, I understand the struggles reflected in my classrooms best when I understand the struggles behind my own self. When I can imagine myself linked through blood or experience to the more immediate experiences of my students, my imagination allows me to create a classroom atmosphere in which the contemporary generation of English learners can explore the meanings of their experiences. Because many of my own students are the first of their families to attend college, I use their experiences of dislocation to help them connect with the sharper dislocations of immigrants from Central America, Southeast Asia, Afghanistan, and even the as-yet-unknown immigrants from the next political troublespot.

Just as our family language histories can help us to understand the struggles of the contemporary students before us, the communal language histories of older multicultural societies can help us to understand the struggles underway today in contemporary California. I propose to examine two societies that are usually thought of as primarily English-speaking and relatively homogeneous: Scotland and South Carolina. The evolution of these originally multilingual and multicultural societies into ones united by English as a common language will help us to understand both what is happening with us today and also how we might help make the birthing of our new society a joyous, rather than a bitter, one.

Scotland

Our story begins in Scotland, land of the first public-school system in all of Europe and model for the public-school system of North America. This was a land of three major languages: Gaelic, Scots, and English (Nichols, 1977)—a language diversity seldom recognized in the usual charts of the Indo-European language family or in the accounts of language variation in the British Isles printed outside Scotland. The Scots themselves know about the variation within their domain and are quite indignant about the failure of their United Kingdom cousins to recognize both the diversity and the literary excellence of the Older Scots tongue. They understand all too well that those who rule are the ones who determine which books get published—and thus establish the canon of literary works that get read. But they also revere and read daily a holy text written in the common language that unites the Protestant portion of the British Isles: the King James translation of the Bible.

Their own King James VI had become King James I of England just after the Protestant Reformation and had initiated the translation of this religious book that became so important in unifying his people under one language. Before ascending the English throne, James had been an active author in his native Scots; after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, he moved his court down to London and both he and his court began to use English as their literary and court language. If we look at Scottish history leading up to this unification of the two countries, we will not find it surprising that this ruler saw the necessity for a language of wider communication. The city of Edinburgh had been captured in 450 A.D. by a Germanic tribe called the Angles, invaded in 500 by the Picts from Ireland, and invaded yet again by Norse-speaking Scandinavians in 800. After the Norman conquest of England in 1066, French speakers made their way into the Scots countryside and into the government as well. Out of this coming together of Germanic, Celtic, Scandinavian, and French languages, a national language referred to as *Inglis* had evolved by 1398, when Chaucerian English was being spoken down south in London. Renamed *Scottis* by 1450, it had become a vibrant literary as well as legal language by 1500.

Scotland was a small and sparsely populated country, however. And not all of this small population spoke Scots. In the Catholic north and parts of the southwest, Gaelic was still spoken; on the borders with England and in the homes of many aristocrats who took English wives, English was spoken. A breakthrough in technology—the printing press—and the control of this technology by the wealthier and more numerous English meant that English, not Scots, would be the language of print and thus the language of the holy texts. In 1560 the translation of the Bible into English by Protestant refugees in Geneva initiated this process. By 1579 the Protestant Scots Parliament had decreed that every householder of a certain standing must have a bible and psalm book in the vulgar language. Under King James' guidance, Sunday Schools were established in each village to teach at least one adult in each household how to read these holy texts. Thus began the first free public school system in Europe, and its language was the English of the country to the south rather than the native Scots of the Lowlands. Not only was the school language now English, but also the official legal language, following the 1603 union of the Crowns. English literature became very popular in Scotland and some 14% of the Scots peers married English wives and sent their sons to school in England. Today on the Sabbath one hears the holy texts read and sung in English, while the discussion of the text—of the sermon—may well be in a variety much closer to the Scots spoken by King James. In the Catholic Highlands, Gaelic can still be heard; in the Orkney Islands a Scandinavian language known as Norn may be found. Scotland remains a multilingual society, united by English as a written language.

Carolina

The same King James of Scotland and England who ushered in this educational infrastructure also paved the way for the immigration of many Scots descendents to the colony of Carolina, beginning in 1670. These Scots had been "planted" in Northern Ireland as part of King James' plan to secure control of Ireland. Having immigrated once, primarily from the counties of Dumfries and Galloway in the southwest, these Scots-Irish (as they came to be called) and their descendants were receptive to the move to America when conditions in Northern Ireland became intolerable. Often entire congregations moved together, bringing both their Presbyterian preacher and the holy texts written in English. In America they established both the church that united them, as well as the schools that promoted literacy. The upcountry of South Carolina is dotted with small colleges founded by Protestant religious groups. The lowcountry, settled by English more heavily than by Scots-Irish, had fewer institutions of higher education since the English landowners could and did send their sons to schools in England. A long-standing tension between the English Anglicans and the Scots-Irish Presbyterians figured prominently in the difficulty the early colony experienced in establishing the first public-supported schools. Although both groups believed strongly in public education, each wanted the schoolmaster to belong to its own faith and to give religious instruction from its own catechism (Joyner, 1985). Both catechisms were written in English, however, making no difference for language development which one the children studied.

English and the Scots-Irish were far from the only cultural groups represented in the early colony. From almost the beginning, the settlement near Charleston included African, Jewish, and French immigrants, as well as English, Scots-Irish, Scots and probably a few Irish. The land had been "given" to eight supporters of Charles II, grandson of King James, and these eight Lords Proprietors bankrolled the initial settlements. Because the financial backers of this enterprise were English, their language and their customs held a prominent place in the colony, as they selected leaders who spoke and wrote in the language variety that they themselves used.

When the English-financed Europeans entered Carolina in 1670, they encountered indigenous peoples whose ancestors had lived on this continent for some 15 centuries. Although their numbers had been decimated through diseases contracted from earlier Spanish and French explorers, these native peoples were still numerous and enjoyed a high standard of living. Their economy was primarily agricultural, with corn as the major crop. When the Spanish explorer, De Soto, had visited one of their leading towns in 1540, it had had some 500 houses overlooking a river gorge, temples for storing weapons and ceremonial objects, and granaries for storing excess maize. At least 40 different linguistic groups existed in Carolina, belonging to four different language families: Iroquoian, Siouan, Algonquian, and Muskhogean. They do not seem to have had a *lingua franca* at the time of contact. Perhaps the widespread practice of adopting captives of war into the family living groups as replacements for lost members would have provided the necessary bilingual interpreters between the groups. The women practiced abortion, before giving birth in the late twenties to one or two children, thus helping to keep the population stable (Waddell, 1980).

By 1710, a generation after initial settlement, Native Americans still comprised the majority of the population (66%), with Africans next at 22%, and Europeans trailing with 12%. Of this 12%, not all were English speakers. Alarmed by the paucity of their numbers and by the large numbers of Native Americans and growing numbers of Africans imported as slaves to work the rice plantations in the lowcountry, the colonial government issued a call to "poor Protestants" of Europe to come to the Carolina colony. With the promise of fertile land, free of taxes initially, an even help with tools and provisions, they came into the colony from France, Switzerland, and the German Palatinate. From colonies to the north came the Welsh and vast numbers of the Scots-Irish in search of better lands and more space for their growing numbers. Coexisting with these Protestants was the second-largest Jewish synagogue in the colonies, a Sephardic group in Charleston probably speaking the Spanish-related Ladino. The small percentage of the colony which was European, then, were speaking some five or six different languages besides English: Welsh, German, French, Spanish/Ladino, Scots, and Gaelic on Cape Fear (now in North Carolina). The variety of English spoken by the majority of the Scots-Irish so horrified the planters of the lowcountry that one of their main worries after the Revolutionary War was that their children would be tutored in the Scottish dialect.

By the time of the 1776 Revolution against England, a century after the English settlement at Charleston, the majority of the population was of African ancestry. Settled primarily along the coast above and below Charleston, Africans who came mostly from Senegal, Gambia, Nigeria, and Angola spoke some 30 different languages and had no common language save English. The variety of English that developed where large numbers of Africans lived together came to be known as Gullah. A creole with roots in both English and in African languages, Gullah can still be heard on the more remote Sea Islands of Carolina and Georgia and along the rivers where the old rice plantations existed before the American Civil War.

Clearly the original English speakers were outnumbered by Africans, Native Americans, and other Europeans in the colony of Carolina. Why, then, did their language prevail over all the others? Certainly the legal and economic status of the speakers had a great deal to do with what language was used in government and business dealings beyond the local sphere. But, perhaps less clearly, the choice of English as the language of religious and educational instruction was probably even more significant. The English and the Scots-Irish brought with them their holy texts, printed in English. They brought with them their preachers to read and interpret these texts and, most importantly, to set up schools to instruct the young in the reading of these texts for themselves. Because the European population was primarily Protestant, intermarriage was common between English and French, between German and French, between Welsh and Scots-Irish. We can trace the disappearance of French in the wills recorded by French Huguenot family heads and by requests for bilingual preachers for congregations whose children no longer spoke French and whose older generation did not yet speak English. We can see the much quicker assimilation of German groups who more often had no preacher to interpret their texts in the native language. And we can see the Welsh Baptists coming with a holy text written in Welsh, but as they mothered dozens of new Baptist churches in the new colony and brought in an overwhelming number of non-Welsh speakers, adopting English as the language of wider communication in their own churches.

In the churches, then, English came to dominate as people met for worship, as they intermarried, and as they heard and learned to read from the holy texts shared by the European Protestants. In the public schools, English also was used as the common language. One early public school at Charleston in 1712 reportedly had a Scots teacher, who taught Latin and Greek, as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic in English; he probably used a Presbyterian catechism for religious instruction. A nearby public school at Goose Creek in 1713 had an Anglican missionary school teacher who used the catechism of that faith for his 27 white students of Anglican, Presbyterian, and Anabaptist faiths and for his 1 black and 2 Indian students. Certainly the English religious text served as a unifying one for this multicultural school. Although we have no record of their education, the Jewish males in Charleston, as prominent merchants, would have seen to it that their sons learned to read and write English so that they might continue their fathers' commercial activities within and outside the colony.

The African portion of the population was largely unprovided for in terms of formal education in the early colony, but their inclusion in the Protestant churches (if only in their segregated balcony seats) meant that they, too, were exposed to formal English as used in the King James Bible. When many of them learned to read, even if illegally, it was often using this holy text as a primer (Birnie, 1927). The Anglicans supported one important school for blacks in Charleston, taught for almost two decades by a slave who had been trained for just this purpose (Joyner, 1985). The missionary society supplied spelling books, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and Bibles as texts, all of which were written in English (Bolton, 1982). By the late 1770s some black churches were established as separate institutions, taking charge of their children's instruction themselves. These churches became vital cultural vehicles for molding English into a language that transmits and transforms African values and textual forms, as Ellen Sebastian has recently shown in her dramatic rendering of Zora Neale Hurston's life (Sebastian, 1988). The metaphors and stories of the Hebrew and Greek texts, translated into English and transformed by descendants of African slaves, now punctuate the rhetoric of African-Americans like Jesse Jackson, a native son of South Carolina.

California

Our story continues on the other edge of the North American continent, along the Pacific Rim in California. Like Carolina, California was home to significant numbers of indigenous peoples at the time of European contact; it is currently home to more Native Americans than any of the other states—more than 250,000 in the 1980 census count. Originally these native Californians spoke more than 60 different languages belonging to the four major linguistic families of Penutian, Na-Dene, Aztec-Tanoan, and Hokan (Crystal, 1987); earlier classifications divide them into the six language families of Algonkian, Athabascan, Penutian, Hokan, Uto-Aztekan, and Yukian (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980). Some 300,000 Native Americans were probably living in California before the initial Spanish settlement. Like the Indians of South Carolina they practiced abortion, as well as contraception and infanticide, which helped keep their numbers in line with the food supply (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980). Their economy was primarily a hunter-gatherer one.

In 1776, when the 13 English colonies along the Atlantic were revolting against the mother country, the Spanish were establishing a military outpost at Yerba Buena—now San Francisco. The Franciscans had already begun to establish missions from San Diego to Sonoma, in which the Native Americans were forced to work as manual laborers. An 1811 report from 16 of these missions to the Spanish colonial government in Mexico reflects great linguistic diversity among the Native Americans gathered at the missions: Two or more languages were used at half of them, with San Francisco reporting 5 and San Luis Obispo reporting 15 (Kroeber, 1908). With such linguistic diversity, the Spanish of the soldiers and the priests who controlled the laborers would have served as a common language. After the Mexican revolution against Spain, Spanish-speaking settlers from Mexico occupied huge tracts of land formerly associated with the missions, from Sonoma south to San Diego. In the first half of the 19th century, Native Americans worked as manual laborers on these large ranches, as they had previously worked for the missions. To the north of San Francisco, Russian fur traders established a settlement at Fort Ross, bringing with them Native American fur trappers from the Aleutian Islands. Most of Northern California prior to 1850, however, remained occupied by Native Americans much as it had prior to the coming of the Europeans.

In the mid-1800s numbers of English-speaking settlers began to come into the territory, after Mexico formally ceded it to the United States in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Attracted by the discovery of gold, these miners actively competed with the Native Californians for food and land. By the later 1870s the Indian population had been decimated by disease, starvation, and outright massacres by this new wave of Europeans.

When California became the 31st state of the Union in 1850, it was clearly a multilingual and multicultural society. In the north were speakers of a number of Native American languages little influenced as yet by European ones. South of Bodega Bay and Sacramento, Spanish was a vigorous language around the original mission settlements; its near-century of use at the missions and subsequently on the rancheros meant that an increasingly large *mestizo* population used it as a first language. Many of the rivers, towns, and counties in the state retain Spanish and Native American names, and many common terms for vegetation and foods have been adopted by English speakers from the languages spoken by these earlier inhabitants. Other Europeans joining the speakers of Spanish, Russian, and English were the French, Italian, and German immigrants who came into the new state after 1850.

Since its initial multilingual beginning as the 31st state, significant numbers of speakers of Asian languages have also contributed to California's multilingual and multicultural environment. By the late 1860s Chinese languages were being spoken by the large numbers of Chinese men who came in to help build the railroad linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. After them came significant numbers of Japanese speakers, many of them farmers until their lands were confiscated during World War II. When the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands became U.S. territories in the late 1800s, immigrants from these areas came into California in significant numbers, speaking Japanese, several Chinese and several Filipino languages. In this century, many immigrants and refugees have come in from Southeast Asia and have established communities where languages like Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Cantonese are spoken in shops, restaurants, temples and churches. Spanish-speaking refugeees from civil wars in

Central America join the large Hispanic population already living in urban centers like San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Jose. And several thousand speakers of Pashto or Afghani have established small communities most recently.

Despite the multilingual origins of California's population, figures on language use provided by data from the 1980 U.S. census indicate that English is the language spoken at home for the vast majority of the population (78%). Spanish is a distant second (13% for adults and 17% for children), followed by Chinese and Filipino languages, German, Italian, French, Greek, and Polish. As Susannah MacKaye (1988) has so persuasively argued, English is already the common language for this diverse population, and no actual linguistic purpose was served by the recent adoption of a constitutional amendment to make it the state's official language. Insuring access to this common language is a far more complicated matter, however, and one for which educators have considerable responsibility.

Because the Spanish-speaking population comprises 10% to 20% of the population, despite the dominance of English, this group commands our initial attention. Alexander Sapiens (1988) has presented impressive evidence that Hispanics are the fastest-growing ethnic group in California and has discussed the educational implications of their concentration in specific rural and urban areas of the state. Although not all Hispanics are using Spanish as a home language, a considerable proportion are, especially in the pre-school age group in certain counties. Recent figures from the California State Department of Education (1987) indicate that children who do not speak English as their primary language are apt to be concentrated in particular school districts and counties. In 1987, more than half of the children in 11 school districts spoke limited English: 3 districts in Monterey County, 2 in Imperial County, and 1 each in Fresno, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Diego, and Tulare Counties. In two of these districts, Calexico Unified in Imperial County and San Ysidro Elementary in San Diego County, more than 80% of the children had limited proficiency in English. The concentration of these districts in southern and central California suggests that here the older colonial language, Spanish, still predominates and thus lays claim to being a stronger second language for California than simple percentages would suggest. When children play and study with non-English speakers in such overwhelming numbers, it should be clear that their acquisition of English will be difficult at best. In 17 counties from Sacramento south, between 20% and 50% of the children speak a language other than English in the home: Solano, Sacramento, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, Merced, San Benito, Monterey, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, Kern, Ventura, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino. In Imperial County, on the border with Mexico, over 50% of the children speak a language other than English at home; that language is of course Spanish.

For such concentrations of children speaking one specific language other than English, a bilingual program is clearly indicated. In other districts where the languages are diverse, another approach is more feasible. But for all the children in this contemporary multicultural society, we need to address the question of which texts in the common language are suitable for this time and place.

Holy Texts for Contemporary California

We have seen that earlier multilingual societies used texts which were deemed holy by the dominant culture as vehicles for fostering literacy in a common language. In Scotland, which was a relatively stable society at the time literacy became widespread, only three primary languages were in contact and all belonged to the Indo-European language family. Moreover, a shared religious faith, however fragmented by the struggles of the Reformation, meant that all of the major groups shared a reverence for the primary holy texts. South Carolina, with many more languages and cultures converging in a small territory, had no holy texts which were initially shared by all groups. Its solution was to promote the texts of the dominant English-speaking group for the education of all. The African majority transformed these texts in ways that preserved their own traditions, but the Native Americans largely resisted or ignored them.

In California of the 21st century it seems less and less feasible to promote only the texts traditionally revered by the European minority. We want universal literacy, not just an elite education for a select few as was the case in earlier societies. To achieve this end, the schools must meet this multicultural and multilingual population where they are in their private lives and help them become public citizens, understanding and using the public language. As both Alan Dundes and Scott Enright made clear at the 1988 CATESOL Conference in San Francisco, the most important resource educators have at their disposal are the stories and traditions of home and community that students bring with them into the classroom. These classrooms, in a very natural evolutionary process, have replaced the Sunday schools of Europe, as well as the church-related public schools of early English colonies, as our institutions where both literacy and communal values are transmitted. As educators, we have been slow to realize what the struggle over reading lists and cultural literacy (Hirsch, 1987) is all about: it is about selection and transmission of spiritual values, not about mere acquaintance with cultural trivia. Building on the specific cultural understanding of the world that students come to school with, teachers can help students gain access to the wider culture through the public language of English. As African-Americans have been demonstrating for two centuries through their rich literature written in English (Bontemps, 1969), this public language is one that clearly can embrace non-European experience.

Our initial task is to identify those texts in English which embody the common values we are hammering out together from our separate traditions—expressed in aesthetic forms that compel our attention and invade our memory. Certainly some of these texts continue to be the Hebrew and Greek ones translated into English and Spanish as Holy Bibles, representing the highest values in their respective Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish communities. Others are surely the classical Greek and Roman texts that are honored in courses labeled "Western Civilization." The holy texts that have served European cultures at other places and at other times, however, are neither sufficient nor adequate for contemporary multicultural California.

The emerging California culture represents the convergence of people of the American, European, Asian, and African continents, as well as the Pacific Islands. Our students require texts which speak to our common purpose at this place and time. Some of the texts that command our attention are those that embody the oral traditions of the Native American population of California—often portraying far different, even conflicting values, from those embodied in the European holy texts. Others certainly are the written and oral traditions of the Asian population of California.

Many of our native-born authors provide accessible texts that, using the common language, explore diverse cultural traditions and the spiritual values integral to them: Rudolfo Anayo's *Bless Me, Ultima*, Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men*, N. Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*, Alice Walker's *Color Purple*, Leslie Silko's *Ceremony*, Ole Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, Ernest Gaines' *A Gathering of Old Men*, Luis Valdez' *Bernabe*, Mitsuye Yamada's *Campnotes*, and Lorna Dee Cervantes' *Emplumada*.

As educators, we have a strong voice in what our students read and discuss together. I urge that we assume our responsibilities with seriousness, as well as zest, for the difference that these choices can make. Some of our students will perhaps find their own public voices, expressing in the common language the uncommon yearnings of the spirit that unite us at this moment in our being on this planet. Together we can make new connections and discoveries within the emerging holy texts of this new culture along the Pacific Rim. ■

Patricia C. Nichols is associate professor of English and linguistics at San Jose State University, where she coordinates the teacher education program in English. Her research focuses on language contact and language change in South Carolina, on gender and language use, and on functions of language in multicultural societies.

References

Birnie, C. W. (1927). Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, prior to the Civil War. *The Journal of Negro History, 12*, 13-21.

Bolton, S. C. (1982). *Southern Anglicanism: the Church of England in colonial South Carolina*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Bontemps, A. (ed.) (1969). *Great slave narratives*. Boston: Beacon Press.

California State Department of Education, Bilingual Education Office. (1987). *DATA BI/CAL, report 87-5A*. Sacramento, CA.

Clements, J. (Ed.) (1985). *California facts*. Dallas, TX: Clements Research.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heisch, A., Lamendella, J. & Nichols, P. (1987). *Cross cultural training module: San Jose State University*. Final report: 1986-87 academic program improvement grant. Long Beach: Chancellor's Office, California State University.

Heizer, R. F. & Elsasser, A. B. (1980). *The natural world of the California Indians*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hirsch, E. D., Jr. (1987). *Cultural literacy: what every American needs to know*. New York: Vintage Books.

Joyner, J. R. (1985). *Beginnings: Education in colonial South Carolina*. Columbia, SC: Museum of Education & McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina.

Kroeber, A. L. (1908). A mission record of the California Indians. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 8*, 1-27.

MacKaye, S. (1988, March). *Some facts about language policy in California and the U.S.* Paper presented at the educational equity symposium on language use in California: Challenges for educators, San Jose State University, CA.

Nichols, P. (1977). Ethnic consciousness in the British Isles: Questions on language planning. *Language Problems and Language Planning, 1*, 10-31.

Sapiens, A. (1988, March). *Changing demographics: Educational implications.* Paper presented at the educational equity symposium on language use in California: Challenges for educators, San Jose State University, CA.

Sebastian, E. (1988, April-June). *The sanctified church* [play]. Presented at Life on the Water, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA.

U.S. Department of Commerce. (1983). *1980 census of population, part 6: California*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Waddell, G. (1980). *Indians of the South Carolina lowcountry 1562-1751*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company.

The CATESOL Journal

USHA WELARATNA
San Jose State University

Cambodian Refugees: Factors Affecting Their Assimilation and English Language Acquisition[1]

■ In the U.S. today, there are approximately 140,000 Cambodian (Khmer) refugees who were forced to flee their country to escape the excessively traumatic rule of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. The vast majority of Khmer refugees came from an overwhelmingly rural, nonwestern background and many have not been successful in learning English, and in mainstreaming with the larger American public. This paper has two aims: (a) to present some of the connections among the history, worldview, social behaviors, and socioliguistic patterns of the Khmer people, and, (b) to demonstrate how these features as well as the social and cultural setting of America affect their assimilation and English language acquisition. Findings are based on ethnographic research currently being conducted by the author which include: teaching of ESL to adult refugees in their homes while learning the Khmer language herself, participant observation, extensive family interviews, and community service activities.

Cambodians (Khmer)[2] as Refugees

When Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge gained control of Cambodia in 1975 and turned that once gentle land in Southeast Asia to one of the most horrifying criminal camps the world has ever known, thousands of starved, tortured, and abused Cambodian (Khmer) people were forced to flee their homeland in search of refuge in this and many other countries. This paper has two aims: (a) to present some of the connections among the history, worldview, social behaviors, and sociolinguistic patterns of the Khmer people, and (b) to demonstrate how these features as well as the social and cultural setting of America affect their assimilation and English language acquisition. Information is based on my ethnographic fieldwork in Santa Clara County, California, begun in 1987 and still in progress. My activities have included teaching ESL to adult refugees in their homes, community service, participant observation, and extensive family interviews. In addition, I am studying the Khmer language, to both conduct research and experience some of the difficulties an English speaker goes through in learning the language of her students.

In the United States today, there are approximately 140,000 Khmer refugees. Of these, the first wave of above 7,000 came in 1975, soon after the communist takeover, and were mainly well educated and Westernized military and government officials, other professionals, and their families. The second and third waves who came between 1979 and 1984, were primarily non-Western rural farmers from a cooperative social system, who had languished in refugee camps for several years, with very little preparation for resettlement in a technologically advanced, competitive society such as the United States. The third and largest wave of about 60,000 refugees consisted of those who suffered the most severe losses and trauma under Pol Pot and the famine that engulfed Cambodia as a result of the fighting between the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese troops.

The vast majority of Khmer refugees have now lived in the U.S. for at least five years. How well have they adjusted and assimilated into this society? It is generally accepted that Khmer refugees have not mainstreamed successfully; many have not become citizens and have not been successful in English language acquisition. The two factors most frequently cited are lack of education and unfamiliarity with western ways.

Why have the Khmer refugees failed to assimilate successfully when other Southeast Asian refugees, particularly the Vietnamese, have succeeded? To understand, we must look at both Khmer refugees' background and their experiences as refugees here.

Historical Background

Historians believe parts of Cambodia were inhabited for the last 6 thousand years. The first important social transformation came at the beginning of the Christian era, when Indian culture and thought spread to Cambodia. "Indianization" continued for over a thousand years, affecting all levels of society. Among other things, India gave Cambodia a writing system, a pantheon, a social hierarchy, a hierarchical terminology, and Theravad Buddhism, which became the state religion. Significantly, none of these influences were imposed by force or colonization. Instead, the Khmer seem to have chosen the features they wanted (Chandler, 1983).

During the Angkor period (9th to 15th centuries), Cambodia was a powerful kingdom and pictures of Angkor Wat, (a village that became a Buddhist temple) are displayed in many refugee homes. The glory of the Angkor period provides them with a self-image they are proud of.

The Khmer have historically resisted attempts to change them by force; after Cambodia became a French protectorate in the 19th century, French attempts to introduce a Western style education system failed in the villages until traditional methods of teaching by the Buddhist monks were incorporated. As refugees here, the Khmer want the way of life the Khmer Rouge tried so hard to eradicate, which shows that they value the life style they knew. A community leader expressed some of those Khmer ideals as follows:

> The important thing for us is not to lose our heritage, our culture. We feel we have a unique culture that is right for us. We were born and raised from generation to generation in that culture. We cannot assimilate totally. We don't want to lose our ways; we want to add. We want to compare both cultures, and be careful to pick the good things and mix with ours.

A Khmer proverb advises people: "Don't choose a straight path and don't reject a winding one. Choose the path your ancestors have trod."

Khmer Society

Cambodia relied on a subsistence economy thoughout history, with about 90% of the Khmer, the major ethnic population, living generally self-sufficient but overwhelmingly rural lives as rice farmers. Even after the country became a French protectorate, it was only the elite minority in the city who had some Western influence. Since the Westernized elite were the targets of the Khmer Rouge killings, the vast majority of the refugees who arrived here came from rural areas, without suitable job skills for a technologically advanced country such as this and without knowledge about Western life styles.

The remaining urban dwellers were Chinese and Vietnamese. The Chinese influenced the urban Khmer, but again, this influence did not filter down to the isolated villages due to poor transportation and communication methods. The Vietnamese, invasive enemies of the Khmer for centuries, were looked upon with hostility and mistrust. There is evidence that this mistrust still exists among refugees and, although racial segregation should not be a motive, these feelings should be considered when planning programs for the Khmer.

Education for boys in the villages was provided by monks. Girls were taught by their fathers. Boys usually lived in the temples for a few years and learned Buddhist doctrines, the Khmer and Sanskrit languages, Khmer history, and math. Most became monks for a short period. Although the monks' education prepared the men for a useful life in the village, it did not give them a global perspective, nor a system of learning in the Western sense. Learning was done by rote, using long leaf books. Even today Khmer refugees try to commit to memory the ESL lessons they learn. This often presents problems: Refugees do not always understand what they try to memorize, and the problem is compounded because many refugees believe their memories are impaired by the excessive trauma inflicted on them by the Khmer Rouge. Thus, the holocaust and the excessive mental and physical torture inflicted on the people by the Khmer Rouge cause problems for Khmer refugees which affect their assimilation and language learning in a manner that is not common to all Southeast Asian refugees. Other Southeast Asian refugees have experienced war and flight traumas; the Khmer have experienced a collective autogenocidal holocaust that is distinctive to them and not shared by others.

Since monks were teachers as well as spiritual and religious leaders in Cambodia, they were shown immense respect. They were seldom contradicted and were given every right to discipline students. Khmer refugees in the U.S. also greatly respect their own and their children's teachers and rarely display disagreement or dissatisfaction with them. Unless a teacher was particularly sensitive, it would be easy to overlook instances when undemonstrative Khmer may actually need some assistance or clarification.

After independence in 1954, the Sihanouk government greatly expanded primary and secondary education and also started a massive literacy program for adults. Although French was taught as a second language for many years in government schools, English was introduced only in the late 1960s and available only in the cities. Civil servants provided basic education for adults, and after six months of instruction, those able to read a short paragraph, take six or seven lines of dictation, and do simple arithmetic were given a "certificate of literacy." Many Khmer refugees have no more education than this. Moreover, the Khmer Rouge completely eradicated education and killed the majority of highly educated males. As a result, most refugee households are headed by females who are illiterate or minimally literate in their own language yet who now have to grapple with the task of learning not only a foreign language but also a foreign culture.

Khmer society was hierarchically structured by age and/or social status in urban and rural areas and both verbal and body language denote these distinction. Royalty and monks were addressed by special registers and others were accorded respect according to status. The form of address is still of great importance to the refugees. Older people are called not by their first names, but by kinship terms. Most adults here find the casual form of addressing people by first names rather uncomfortable. They are especially offended when children call them by their first names. When Khmer children use the direct style of American communication, or when they talk back, their parents become angry about the children's apparent disrespect towards them. They refer to such children as *gorn athpuy* (subhuman; without human parentage). Such strong feelings about respectful speech are based on cultural values, as expressed by one refugee: "It fosters feelings of love, harmony and goodwill towards others. When one speaks nicely, others do the same, and no one has to regret afterwards."

English and Khmer differ in body language also. For instance, the refugees find the American way of summoning someone by motioning with a finger extremely offensive. In fact, before they realized this was a common gesture in this society, they believed Americans did this because they looked down on the Khmer. One refugee said, "At first I thought they called me like that because they thought I was lower than them—like an animal. Now I know it is a way they call anybody, but I still don't like it." When refugees are turned off by the mannerisms of their teachers, however unintended, it diminishes the respectful feelings towards teachers and discourages them from attending classes.

Village social values emphasized cooperation rather than competition. Cooperation was essential for a rural subsistence economy that did not have modern mechanized agricultural methods. If people did not work together, irrigated rice could not be grown. Since proven ways were considered safer than new experiments, village life continued with little change over centuries. Widespread use of money, banking systems, or credit cards were not part of village or urban life. In urban areas only businesssmen or *big people* (the very rich) used banks. Family members generally helped one another by providing both emotional support and goods and services. Generosity toward family as well as outsiders was highly valued. Indeed, it was largely through cooperation, especially between family members, that refugees overcame their ordeals under the Khmer Rouge, escaped from Cambodia, and now manage to survive here. May Ebihara (1985), the first American to have done an anthropological village study in Cambodia, and a prominent expert on Cambodian refugees says:

> Mutual aid may occur, first, at the level of the household. In prerevolutionary Khmer society, extended families were as common as nuclear ones, and households might include a married child and his or her family; needy relatives, such as a widowed sister or an orphaned nephew . . . Such patterns have persisted among Khmer refugees and provide a crucial means of coping with loss of family members and strained socieconomic circumstances . . . Refugees help one another through exchange and sharing of material resources, information, services, advice, contacts, and so forth. (p. 140)

Even though they are now in a country where individual freedom of speech and action is valued highly and competitive and aggressive styles are the norm, Khmer refugees continue to want to keep their cooperative life style because these behavior patterns worked successfully in the past.

World View

Buddhist refugees and immigrants from other countries seem to adjust well in America, so why should Buddhists from Cambodia not do so? Buddhism is no more a unified religion than is Christianity. Until large numbers of Theravada Buddhists came from Southeast Asia, the Buddhism that was generally known in America was Mahayana Buddhism, practiced in some Asian countries such as China and Japan. Although Mahayana Buddhism contains a theory of reincarnation as does Theravada Buddhism, it is closer to Judeo-Christian religions in that it looks towards a God or an ultimate savior. Theravada Buddhism, on the other hand, tells its followers that salvation from reincarnation can be achieved only through an individual's own efforts. People are told that individuals are responsible for their actions, all of which have reactions. They are advised to think critically and to follow the right path. This is what the Khmer refugees do when they question to what extent they want to be American, as previously shown in the quote by the community leader.

Since Buddhism was developed in a search to end reincarnation, it teaches its followers to develop habits which will aid this process. One is taught to be generous by way of goods or service to others so that one will be rid of worldy desires. This is seen as the way to end the cycle of rebirths. This ideal was demonstrated vividly in "Career Choices of Southeast Asian Students," presented at the 1987 San Diego Asian Pacific Conference[5], with Khmer students choosing social service as a future vocation over other types of careers, even though they are now in this technologically advanced country.

This process of gaining purity of mind through giving is commonly referred to as "acquiring merit," and was a large part of Khmer life. Donations to monks are considered especially meritorious. It is believed that by making donations to monks in memory of the dead, merit can be transferred to them, which will help them in their rebirths. In the case of the Khmer refugees who lost so many loved ones to the inhumanities of the Khmer Rouge, this ability to help the dead to earn a better life, contributes significantly to their emotional welfare.

Khmer patterns of giving affect refugee adjustment. Numerous solicitors come to refugee households with motives ranging from recruitment as church members to collecting monetary donations for various "causes." Since many refugees are welfare recipients, they can hardly afford to contribute money to these causes. But, they find it difficult to say no to unwanted solicitors since it goes against their social ethics. This leads them to be easily exploited by unscrupulous people with obvious implications for their adjustment to life here.

As Theravada Buddhists, the Khmer believe that the fortunes or misfortunes of their present lives are results of actions, or *karma* (fate) they acquired in previous lives. This concept again has tremendous implications in the treatment of refugees who suffer not only from memories and internal and/or external injuries inflicted by the Khmer Rouge, but also in dealing with guilt at having survived at all, or at having survived better than others. Since Buddhist teachings provide refugees with an explanation of life they understand and believe, those with emotional problems are helped by discussions with monks. Theravada Buddhism, then, stressses the continuance and impermanence of life, as well as the relationship between action and reaction.

While the Western way to improve one's future is by becoming materially wealthy, the Khmer or Buddhist way to improve is by giving wealth away. "Although refugees would find various material goods desirable and quickly assimilate them into their lives," (Ebihara, 1985) Buddhist teachings encourage a person to grow inwardly rather than outwardly. This is why the Khmer are less aggressive and less competitive than other refugee groups and are less ambitious when judged by conventional American standards. Since Western cultural and

Christian religious influences were minimal, Buddhist ideas as a way of life seem to have been stronger in Cambodia than in other Theravada Buddhist countries. Moreover, since Khmer refugees have been here for only 13 years at the most, their social behaviors and sociolinguistic patterns have not yet been subject to strong cultural changes.

Impediments to English Language Acquisition and Some Solutions

In *Background Notes for Teachers in the Adult Migrant Education Program* (1984, p.i), J. Brick and G. Louie point out that teachers present English language students with three tasks: acquiring a new syntax, a new lexis, and a new set of cultural concepts. They claim it is the cultural concepts that present the most difficulty. This observation is the first step to successful language acquisition. The thesis of this paper carries this idea one step further: The new set of cultural concepts to be taught first have to be those that are experienced by the students and not by the teachers.

Some teachers note that speakers of many different languages can learn English, and hence, dismiss the structural features of particular languages as factors impeding the learning of English. Others disagree. Ebihara (1985) observes, "There are a number of differences between Khmer and English, such that there is no easy transfer from one language to the other." Some of these differences are:

> (a) *Khmer verbs are not inflected for such categories as tense, number and gender.*
>
> (b)*In Khmer, once a subject has been introduced, or is clear from the context, it may be omitted from predication.* For example, the question *Lok tiw salaa?* (Are you going to school?) can be answered with the sentence *Tiw* (Going).
>
> (c)*Although the basic word order in Khmer sentences is subject-verb-object, as in English, Khmer relies heavily on syntactic, rather than morphological mechanisms.* For instance, modifiers generally follow the nouns they modify, and specifiers follow numerals:

cheik	*tum*	*pii*	*snet*	*nih*
bananas	ripe	two	hands	this

(these two bunches of ripe bananas) (Huffman, 1970).

However, a focus solely on the structure of language does not adequately address English language learning problems faced by the Khmer. It is a contribution of structure, sociolinguistic factors, and cultural factors both of refugees and the host culture that, as a totality, affect the degree of success or failure of English language learning. Analytically, these can be separated; in the classroom they cannot be separated.

In his article on cooperative learning, Kagan (1986), characterizes U.S. public schools as "generally competitive, individualistic, and autocratic" (p. 238). These are the opposite of Khmer social ideals. According to Kagan, research on cooperative learning shows positive outcomes in academic achievement, ethnic relations, prosocial development, and liking for class, school, learning and self. With the Khmer refugees' cooperative social background this type of learning obviously is more suitable than the traditional structured setting. Cooperative learning, integrated with cooperative teaching, should prove to be even more successful.

As previously noted, the Khmer place great importance on the manner of communication, both in speech and body language. Although such respectful behavior is not the norm in American society, by following the proper rules of behavior so important to the Khmer, it is possible to put them at ease. Since such cooperation will demonstrate that the intention is not to change them but only to teach them English, the refugees will change when they choose to do so, after understanding our ways. It will also be a valuable service to encourage Khmer children to be attentive to their parents' wishes at home, since it will ensure harmony among them.

Even in their own homes, where they feel more comfortable than in a classroom setting, students remain self-conscious about speaking in English in front of others. Cooperative learning methods can be used to overcome this problem. For instance, teamwork in which all students are engaged in conversation (a shopping expedition or a visit to the doctor) will ensure that attention will be removed from a single speaker. Another useful method to overcome problems of self-consciousness is to have students focus their attention on a picture or other object rather than on the speaker. Pictures are also useful when presenting subjects that might cause embarrassment, such as parts of the body. Eye contact between Khmer students and teachers is minimal; to look a teacher straight in the eye is considered disrespectful. Furthermore, students look away if they do not feel comfortable talking about a particular subject.

As mentioned earlier, the traumas inflicted by the Khmer Rouge cause various problems for Khmer refugees. They sometimes find it painful to sit in one place for too long, due to physical injury resulting from beatings and other abuse. Many suffer from digestive disorders caused by starvation. When they see students sitting together, some men are reminded of the Khmer Rouge indoctrination sessions; this upsets them so much they must leave the room.

Since Khmer refugees are worried about their retentive powers, techniques should be developed to help them discover that they can remember what they learn. One successful method is to have students memorize names of objects in picture cards, distribute an equal number of cards to each student, and then, for all to take turns at collecting as many cards as possible by asking for them. Clues can be given instead of actually naming the object, which not only expands refugees' vocabulary, but also demonstrates that they are able to remember more details than just a name. This recognition enhances their self-esteem, and accelerates their learning.

Even though the Khmer blame their memories for their learning difficulties, the problem appears more to be with the subjects taught than with the refugees. Khmer refugees came to America from a non-Western rural background, with little or no education. Many now depend on welfare assistance and live in economically and socially depressed areas among other low income groups. Thus, their needs, experiences, and problems are vastly different from those of the Americans with middle class lifestyles who are portrayed in ESL lessons. For instance, as mentioned, banks were not a part of refugees' lives in Cambodia. They are not here either, if refugees are on welfare. However, ESL lessons are often about matters such as banking, a practical need of middle class people, but not of the refugees. Since banking is not a part of their daily experiences, lessons about the subject have no application or meaning to the refugees, and so do not provide stimulation for learning or retention. Although it is necessary to teach unfamiliar concepts such as banking to Khmer refugees since they now live here, it is much more important to teach them concepts that meet their survival needs first. What they need now is social communication skills applicable to their daily lives.

When Khmer refugees are harrassed by various solicitors, they do not know how to respond; in addition to not knowing English, they avoid face-to-face confrontations and open competition between individuals. Even in troublesome situations, Khmer generally do not assert themselves, complain, or fight for their rights as Americans might do. They usually try to solve social problems by moving away. However, until they learn English and its social uses, they cannot deal with these problems effectively. Khmer community leaders and personnel in organizations dealing with refugees are good sources to discover refugee needs.

Conclusion

It should be emphasized that none of the impediments discussed above individually prevent English language learning. It is the combination that discourages Khmer refugees and prevents them from learning English.

Without communication between refugees and American society, there can be very little growth or change. The importance of being aware of the client culture for successful communication has long been recognized by anthropologists and also by ESL teachers. In the case of ESL teaching, the recognition must be extended to developing an awareness of how our own cultural habits might interfere with or enhance the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. A project that successfully dealt with both sides was The Tribal Lao Training Project[4], designed by anthropologist James M. Freeman, and social worker Huu Nguyen in Santa Clara County, California. This project was adapted to the needs of the people served: the curriculum was designed specifically to deal with nonliterate people and students were taught how to cope with various resettlement crises in the cultural setting of the U.S., such as auto accidents, hospital crises, family disputes, and evictions by landlords.

Khmer refugees are not lesss able or less motivated than other refugee groups to learn English. However, given their distinctive cultural and historical experiences, including the holocaust, they have learning problems that may not be present for other groups. They can be helped to overcome many of their problems if we (a) plan lessons to meet their present needs, (b) develop teaching techniques with the distinctive Khmer history/holocaust in mind, and (c) present lessons in a manner that demonstrates an understanding of, and consideration for, Khmer cultural values. With the successful acquisition of English, communications between the Khmer and the American public will improve, social adjustment will follow, and the Khmer refugees will become a productive segment of the larger American community. ■

FOOTNOTES

[1] The generous guidance and encouragement of James M. Freeman, professor of anthropology, San Jose State University, with regard to this work is deeply appreciated. This paper is part of a larger project funded in part by the San Jose State University Foundation. I thank them for their support. Refugees quoted in this article will not be identified by mutual arrangement. Their support and friendship is gratefully acknowledged.

[2] Khmer is the ethnic name of the people of Cambodia and their language.

[3] See charts on Southeast Asian refugee youth educational attainment from the Southeast Asian Refugee Youth Study (SARYS), Department of Sociology, San Diego State University.

[4] See Freeman, J. M., Nguyen, H., Hartsell, P. (1985). The tribal Lao training project, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*.

The author, a graduate student at San Jose State University, is currently conducting research on the social adjustment of Cambodian refugees using life history collection methods, to be presented as a Special Masters Degree Thesis. She is learning Khmer and has written on a wide variety of topics. Her latest work appeared in Cricket Magazine *for children.*

REFERENCES

Brick, J. & Louie, G. (1984) *Background notes for teachers in the adult migrant education program. Language and culture: Kampuchea*. Sydney: Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

Chandler, D. P. (1983). *A history of Cambodia*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Ebihara, M. (1985). Khmer. In D. W. Haines, (Ed.), *Refugees in the United States. A reference handbook* (pp. 127-147). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Huffman, F. E. (1970). *Modern spoken Cambodian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kagan, S. (1986). Cooperative learning and sociocultural factors in schooling. In *Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students* (pp. 231-275). Sacramento, CA: Bilingual Education Office, State Department of Education.

The CATESOL Journal

CHRISTINE PEARSON CASANAVE
Stanford University

The Process Approach to Writing Instruction: An Examination of Issues[1]

■ **A process approach to writing instruction is intended to create a humanistic, nonevaluative classroom atmosphere in which students learn discovery-oriented composing strategies. Numerous assumptions are embedded in this perspective—for example, that expert writers compose in similar ways and that novice writers can become better writers by behaving like experts. These and other assumptions need to be questioned and explored within a broader social context than that provided us by cognitive process research. These social issues include purposes for writing, the role of evaluation in school writing, and the communicative nature of the writing act. A process approach can thus be viewed as a set of instructional techniques appropriate for some purposes and some writing tasks, rather than as a theoretically based research program.**

As the 1980s draw to a close, scholars and educators are questioning the theoretical and pedagogical import of the cognitively oriented *process approach* to writing instruction. This period of questioning has come about in great part because writing researchers are recognizing that they have tended to neglect the social contexts in which all writing takes place (Bizzell, 1982; Cooper, 1986; Horowitz, 1986a; Perelman,1986).

Yet writing is fundamentally a cognitive process—it cannot help being so—regardless of how it is influenced by social context. Moreover, there is much to praise about the insights we have gained into the writing process since the late 1970s. These insights most certainly have improved writing instruction in a number of important ways. Nevertheless, the original line of research, although it represented a welcome shift from the traditional exclusive focus on product, seems to have come to a conceptual dead end. It is no longer clear where this overriding concern for writers' cognitive processes will lead us. Thus, in research, scholars are increasingly convinced that attention to product and to social context is essential if we wish to understand writers' cognitive processes. In pedagogy, likewise, educators are going to realize that the term *the process approach* has become a buzzword that obscures the details of the incredibly complex cognitive and social phenomenon of writing.

My purpose in this paper is to look at what the process approach label has come to mean to us and at the assumptions that often lie behind the label. Such an exploration may help us understand what is missing from or oversimplified in process-oriented solutions to instructional questions. It may also help us contextualize process-oriented instructional activities within a broader social context. I first review briefly some of the characteristics of writing from a process perspective and some of the instructional techniques that have followed from this view of writing. Then I consider several assumptions about writing and writing instruction that underlie this view. I conclude by suggesting several ways in which our understanding of writing and writing instruction can be expanded.

The Process Perspective on Writing and Writing Instruction

From research conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s, we have come to perceive writing from a process perspective. (See Humes [1983] and Applebee [1986] for a review and commentary on this work, and Zamel [1987] for a discussion of recent pedagogical research.) In this view, writing is held to be a complex cognitive process in which those writers who are skilled create and then work within a certain problem space in a certain task environment (Flower & Hayes, 1981). They make meaning—i.e., they transform intentionally, rather than tell about, their knowledge (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1986). The lists below display some of the language that has been used to describe the writing of experts from the process perspective. Writing:

IS	DOES
discovery	creates meaning
thinking	clarifies meaning
problem solving	generates language, ideas
a tool for learning	weaves thinking, writing, and revising
goal-directed	requires orchestration of complex activities
hierarchical, embedded	requires subsuming surface concerns for larger issues of meaning
complex	
cognitive	
strategic	
purposive	
writer-centered/controlled	
knowledge-transforming	

IS NOT

linear, sequential
formulaic
a one-shot activity
grammar
product-oriented
knowledge-telling

These descriptors, which were generated from a relatively small group of first and second language studies of writers, are usually taken to represent the writing processes of experts across the board. Educators are understandably anxious to translate the findings of such studies into instructional practices. In the second language field, for example, researchers typically conduct a small study in their university ESL programs, match their findings with those in published research, then offer pedagogical suggestions that teachers can easily adapt in their own classrooms (Raimes, 1985; Spack, 1984; Zamel, 1982, 1983). From this work and comparable work in first language research, we can examine instructional issues in at least four areas: (l) classroom atmosphere, (2) the generation of ideas and planning of text, (3) the creation of text, and (4) the evaluation of or response to text. What might instruction be like in the ideal process classroom from these four perspectives?

l. The classroom atmosphere in the ideal process-oriented writing class is humanistic and nonthreatening. Students feel relaxed and work together in a workshop or small group structure. They control their activities to a far greater extent than do students in traditional classrooms. The teacher in this class functions as a collaborator, and even as a writer and learner of writing (Hairston, 1982; Spack, 1984). This helps contribute to the workshop and collaborative atmosphere.

2. Numerous instructional techniques in the process-oriented class aim at assisting students in generating ideas and planning what they will write and how they will write about it. In this class, topics are chosen by students rather than imposed by teachers. Techniques for invention thus become focal. Such invention strategies include free writing, brainstorming, keeping journals, engaging in some real world experience, and considering an issue from multiple perspectives. Exercises such as these, which may be highly structured or relatively unstructured, not only help students generate initial ideas, they also help them find their way into their ideas—help them plan. These activities are typical of the many that teachers have devised and adapted in their own classrooms.

3. In the ideal process classroom, students create text under somewhat different conditions than they do in the traditional classroom. They write for real readers (e.g., for teacher-as-collaborator or peers); they are encouraged to write for a purpose; they focus on content and ideas rather than on surface features; they have at their disposal various writing strategies, all of which are considered viable options.

These students, moreover, have many opportunities to write as well as sufficient time for writing.

4. Finally, in the process classroom, evaluation of and response to students' texts occur not at the end point of the writing activity, but throughout the process of writing. Moreover, the teacher is not the sole evaluator and responder. Students read and respond to the work of their peers and are helped to become critical responders to their own work. Teacher and student meet in conferences, where the teacher-as-collaborator responds to ideas and content, not to surface errors. In these conferences, the teacher guides the student in constructing meaning and in creating, organizing, and transforming knowledge. Editing is postponed, multiple drafts are encouraged, and the final draft, polished or not, becomes simply the inevitable result of the process rather than its focus.

In general, then, the activities in the process classroom provide teachers with many options that can be conducted in a variety of ways. They may be loosely or highly structured, conducted individually, in pairs or small groups, or as a whole class. In the process class, activities are supposed to meet flexibly the variable needs and writing styles of individual student writers. They are dynamic, humanistic, and intuitively compelling. But they are also undergirded by assumptions that we tend to take for granted, or take as proven by research.

Assumptions Reflected in This View of Writing and Writing Instruction

A number of assumptions underlie process-oriented instructional activities. They become salient at times in the language we use to talk about writing, while at other times they remain hidden beneath the surface, emerging perhaps in our instructional practices.

Assumption 1: Writing process and written product are dichotomous elements rather than interdependent facets of a larger whole. Whether or not authors and conference presenters intend to represent writing this way, they do so when they choose phrases such as "process *instead of* product" or "process *rather than* product" (e.g., Liebman-Klein, 1986). In fact, when we write anything, we go through some sort of cognitive process; similarly, anything we write (even the roughest of drafts) constitutes a product of some sort. Moreover, access to writers' processes has been achieved via the product of the think-aloud protocol (Connor, 1987).

Assumption 2: Findings from research on the writing process can be translated directly into instructional materials and practices. This assumption is hardly justified, given the limited scope of most research, the major questions that have been raised about methodologies (e.g., about the different self-report techniques that are popular in this research), and the tentativeness and variability of the findings. It is probably more realistic to say that research can inform instruction by enhancing our awareness of why we make certain instructional choices and by bringing certain issues to light that we might not otherwise consider.

Assumption 3: Writing is a process of making and discovering meaning. Such an assumption implies that (1) discovery and knowledge-making will somehow emerge magically from the writing act itself and (2) all writing acts somehow involve discovery.

Regarding the first implication, Spack (1984) and Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985) remind us that discovery does not happen automatically at all. On the contrary, it requires a great deal of hard work and "intentional learning" (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1986).

Regarding the second implication, proponents of a process-oriented view of writing rarely specify what kinds of writing they are talking about. Unless we alter our definition of writing to include only the discovery-type, we are faced with a dilemma, since no doubt all of us can find examples in our own experience of writing that we would hardly label this way. When I write about a topic that I know inside and out, I am not discovering meaning. I discovered it already, perhaps as a result of numerous nonwriting experiences. Likewise when I write a resume, a letter to my mother, or a narrative progress report (as opposed to a thinking paper) to my advisor I am not necessarily discovering meaning. And when I follow the step-by-step prescriptions of a tightly controlled writing assignment, I may not be discovering meaning. In fact, the writing that students of all ages do in schools is evaluated primarily on what students know and can display, not on how they came to learn it. Even at the doctoral level, students who employ the kind of open and free-wheeling writing inspired by a process approach can encounter serious conflict in the face of the more formulaic writing required of them in their program (Berkenkotter, Huckin, & Ackerman, 1988). In short, much of the writing that many of us regularly undertake may not involve discovery.

Assumption 4: A relatively uniform and consistent constellation of processes characterizes the writing of skilled writers. This assumption stems from the characterizations of skilled writers as not fully knowing what they want to say before they say it, discovering what they want to say through the act of writing (see above), and solving their writing problems in similar expert ways. But Reid's (1984) "radical outliner" is no less a writer than her "radical brainstormer" for focusing the discovery process in part outside the act of writing—for knowing much of what she will say before she begins drafting.

Reid exemplifies two very different individual styles of writing process in two equally expert writers. But in addition to the influence of individual styles on the writing process, isn't it also the case that the extent to which writers actively employ any of the behaviors that have been labeled *skilled* will depend on the writers' knowledge, tasks, and purposes? As writers' knowledge, tasks, and purposes change, so will their strategies for writing (Langer, 1984).

Assumption 5: Unskilled writers can become skilled if they learn to behave like skilled writers. Evidence from research does not yet support this assumption. In fact, if we can infer from the second language acquisition studies of interlanguage, it may be that unskilled writers have their own interlanguage of written discourse that develops not by imitation of the processes of skilled writers, but by gradual development on its own terms (Kutz, 1986).

Moreover, it is unclear what is meant by the phrase "to behave more like skilled writers." Do we mean that unskilled writers should do what skilled writers do—emulate their activities? If so, process exercises in the classroom can become as rote and prescriptive as those we are reacting against. Or do we mean that unskilled writers need to learn to think as skilled writers think? It is widely believed that skilled writers can represent problems to themselves and can disembed thought, as represented by language, from its immediate context and reflect on it in a way that unskilled writers cannot. But we are dealing with invisible phenonema here, and it is not yet clear we know how to teach students to do these things.

Moreover, the language that we use to talk about these issues labels the people as skilled and unskilled. In other words, we assume that people write consistently in skilled and unskilled ways and can therefore be justly labeled as certain kinds of writers. But it seems more likely that all of us are skilled at some kinds of writing and unskilled at others. Further, we may write more skillfully on one day than on another, due to countless internal and external factors. Indeed, for these reasons it has been suggested that at least two writing samples are required to get a reliable holistic rating of someone's writing ability (Odell, 1981). In short, perhaps we should say that writers are or are not skilled at doing a certain kind of writing, or that they demonstrate skill on Task A but not on Task B. The behaviors, not the people, are labeled.

Assumption 6: Students who care about and are interested in what and how they write will produce better writing than those who are not or than those who are primarily instrumentally motivated, e.g., by the need to pass a test, produce a paper, and get a grade. To date there is little evidence to support this assumption; in fact, counter evidence exists. Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985), for instance, found that when students focused attention on their writing processes by thinking about alternatives to and implications of their writing choices, they produced more discursive, scattered, and rambling compositions than students who developed a single idea. Likewise, in her process-oriented class, Raimes (1985) did not find that her students' writing improved significantly, only that they seemed more involved in and committed to the writing task than students in nonprocess classes. Of course, we would not wish to forego interest and commitment, but their relation to writing quality is as yet unclear.

These assumptions, and no doubt more, seem to underlie the process approach to writing instruction. Without rejecting them outright, which I believe would be unnecesary and unwise, we can examine them, question them, and explore them further. By recognizing and articulating our assumptions, we can make better and more informed instructional decisions. We can also see more clearly where the gaps are in our thinking.

Broadening Our Understanding

The stereotypical process orientation to writing instruction and research has neglected at least four important areas: purposes for writing, the role of evaluation, social factors, and "theory." In concluding this paper, I consider each one briefly.

1. We need a fuller understanding of students' purposes for writing and of teachers' purposes for having them write. This applies equally to the writing that students do in composition classes and in content classes. Second language learners in the ESL writing class, for instance, may write for the purposes of language acquisition and development, for personal (intellectual or creative) development, for vocational preparation, for general and discipline-specific academic preparation, or for a combination of these purposes. The point is that as the goals of writing instruction vary, so will the writing tasks, activities, emphases and approaches.

By way of example, and to point out the complexities involved, let me discuss briefly only the group whose purpose is academic preparation, from the teacher's perspective. Many teachers see their purpose as helping students in the latter group prepare to do college level work. Part of this preparation involves helping students become familiar with the discourse conventions of the academic community (Bartolomae, 1985; Berkenkotter et al., 1988; Bizzell, 1982; Herrington, 1985; McCarthy, 1987; North, 1986; Swales & Horowitz, 1988) and helping students interpret writing assignments adequately so that they can meet the expectations of teachers and programs (Horowitz, 1986b; Perelman, 1986).

Some of these writing assignments, as Horowitz (1986b) found in a survey of university faculty syllabi, impose a great many external constraints on students' writing in terms of time, content, and form. Students may have little control over the writing task and no time for multiple drafts. Teachers who are preparing such a group of students, in addition to relying on standard process techniques, may also wish to give students formulae for certain kinds of very structured writing as well as practice in interpreting instructions for various kinds of writing assignments.

2. We need to recognize the deeply embedded role of evaluation of finished products and of grades in general at all levels of our school system, even if we are pressing hard to change the system. The pervasive focus on evaluation in our schools undermines many valuable educational goals, but this is a reality of schools as they are presently structured. Teachers, therefore, need to juggle their own experiments with alternative modes of evaluation with these larger institutional realities. Not to consider such institutional constraints in the writing class is to somehow miss one of the reasons we teach writing in schools:

to help students survive the system. Thus, while Liebman-Klein (1986) claims that professors at her university now employ process-oriented techniques (brainstorming, journal writing, revising) in their content classes, she fails to mention either purposes for writing or the inevitable role of evaluation of final products in determining grades.

As Applebee (1984) discovered, the process-oriented goals of even the best teachers who consciously employ a process approach in their content classes in secondary schools are undermined by the real goal—the need for teachers ultimately to evaluate the final product. The students in the Applebee project knew this. Though they dutifully engaged in the process activities, when it came to completing the final product, they were practically and instrumentally driven. They knew that there were right answers, or better answers, and those answers were in their textbooks, not in their journal notes.

3. We need a fuller understanding of the social nature of most writing, and of the connections between the social and the cognitive aspects of composing. Some scholars feel that "cognitive developmental work has been overly concerned with describing mental changes which are assumed to occur within the individual independent of contextual influences" (Rogoff, 1984, p.1). In a general sense, this group believes that a writer's competence involves more than knowledge of strategies; it involves also how writers connect themselves to their discourse communities:

> The various roles people take on in writing . . . arise out of . . . social structure: through interacting with others, in writing and speaking, they learn the functions and textual forms of impersonal reporting, effective instruction, irony, storytelling. In the same way they learn the attitudes toward these roles and toward purposes and ideas held by the various groups they interact with, and they come to understand how these interactions are themselves partly structured by institutional procedures and arrangements. (Cooper, 1986, p. 373)

At a more specific level, an act of writing can be construed as social in that it is one type of communicative event—a cooperative speech act—between writer and reader (Cooper, 1982; Grice, 1975; Mallet, 1985). Thus, when writers (such as students in school) communicate something, and readers (such as teachers) interpret what they write, their mutual understanding depends on shared knowledge of both the context in which the writing is taking place and the linguistic and genre-specific discourse conventions appropriate to that context. Mutual understanding of social context and discourse conventions is a prerequisite for successful writing in school.

All of this is not to deny the fact that writing is a complex cognitive activity, many aspects of which are internal to the writer. It is, rather, to recognize the cognitive consequences of the social factors involved in writing and to place an individual's cognitive activity within the broader social context, from which it cannot escape. There can be no decontextualized writing event.

4. We need to recognize that the process approach is not a theory. It has never been defined or developed as a theoretically based research program that helps us understand the act of composing. Moreover, an approach or paradigm that claims to embrace everything (as Hamp-Lyons [1986] would have the "true" process approach do) in fact embraces nothing. A theory, approach, or paradigm is so called because it frames a phenomenon and, within certain boundaries, explains and predicts. By suggesting what is, a theory clearly suggests what is not (hence the capability of theories to generate testable hypotheses). As others have noted, the process approach is a "perspective" (Hamp-Lyons, 1986), an "attitude more than a method" (Zamel, 1986), and a "collection of techniques" (Horowitz, 1986a). Because it is not a theoretically based, clearly defined paradigm, the process view of writing has not been able to generate further research.

However, it has generated what it seems well suited to generate—some useful instructional techniques that accord well with a humanistic and flexible view of teaching and learning—techniques that can appropriately be applied to some writing tasks for some purposes. Our task, then, is not to reject a process approach to writing instruction as a soon-to-be-outmoded fad, but to identify what it can do for which kinds of students doing which kinds of tasks for which kinds of purposes. Within a broadened, socially contextualized view of the writing act, the process approach to writing instruction should find a secure and comfortable home. ■

[1] A version of this paper was presented at the 1987 CATESOL State Conference in Pasadena.

Christine Pearson Casanave is a PhD candidate and teaching fellow at Stanford University. She has authored numerous articles and textbooks on ESL reading and is a frequent conference presenter. Her current research examines how writing is used as a tool for socializing doctoral students into their academic and disciplinary community.

References

Applebee, A. (1984). *Contexts for learning to write.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Applebee, A. (1986). Problems in process approaches: Toward a reconceptualization of process instruction. In A.R. Petrosky & D. Bartolomae (Eds.), *The teaching of writing: Eighty-fifth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part II* (95-113). Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education.

Bartolomae, D. (1985). Inventing the university. In M. Rose (Ed.), *When a writer can't write: Studies in writer's block and other composing problems* (pp.143-165). New York: Guilford Press.

Bereiter, C. & Scardamalia, M. (1986). An attainable version of high literacy: Approaches to teaching higher-order skills in reading and writing. Unpublished manuscript, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.

Berkenkotter, C., Huckin, T., & Ackerman, J. (1988). Conventions, conversations and the writer: Case study of a student in a rhetoric PhD program. *Research in the Teaching of English, 22* 9-45.

Bizzell, P. (1982). College composition: Initiation into the academic discourse community. *Curriculum Inquiry, 12,* 191-207.

Connor, U. (1987). Research frontiers in writing analysis. *TESOL Quarterly, 21,* 677-696.

Cooper, M. (1982). Context as vehicle: Implicatures in writing. In M. Nystrand (Ed.), *What writers know* (pp.105-128). New York: Academic Press.

Cooper, M. (1986). The ecology of writing. *College English, 48,* 364-375.

Flower, L., & Hayes, J. (1981). A cognitive process theory of writing. *College Composition and Communication, 32,* 365-387.

Grice, H. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics: Vol. 3. Speech acts* (pp.41-58). New York: Academic Press.

Hairston, M. (1982). The winds of change: Thomas Kuhn and the revolution in the teaching of writing. *College Composition and Communication, 33,* 76-88.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1986). No new lamps for old yet, please. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 790-796.

Herrington, A. (1985). Writing in academic settings: A study of the contexts for writing in two college chemical engineering courses. *Research in the Teaching of English, 19,* 331-361.

Horowitz, D. (1986a). Process, not product: Less than meets the eye. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 141-143.

Horowitz, D. (1986b). What professors actually require: Academic tasks for the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 445-462.

Humes, A. (1983). Research on the composing process. *Review of Educational Research, 53,* 201-216.

Kutz, E. (1986). Between students' language and academic discourse: Interlanguage as middle ground. *College English, 48,* 385-396.

Langer, J. A. (1984). The effects of available information on responses to school writing tasks. *Research in the Teaching of English, 18,* 27-44.

Liebman-Klein, J. (1986). In defense of teaching process in ESL composition. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 783-788.

Mallet, S. (1985). It all depends on what you're trying to do. *The Writing Instructor, 4,* 126-137.

McCarthy, L. P. (1987). A stranger in strange lands: A college student writing across the curriculum *Research in the Teaching of English, 21,* 233-265.

North, S. (1986). Writing in a philosophy class: Three case studies. *Research in the Teaching of English, 20,* 225-262.

Odell, L. (1981). Defining and assessing competence in writing. In C. R. Cooper (Ed.), *The nature and measurement of competency in English* (pp.95-138). Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Perelman, L. (1986). The context of classroom writing. *College English, 48,* 471-479.

Raimes, A. (1985). What unskilled ESL students do as they write: A classroom study of composing. *TESOL Quarterly, 19,* 229-258.

Reid, J. (1984). The radical outliner and the radical brainstormer: A perspective on composing processes. *TESOL Quarterly, 18,* 529-534.

Rogoff, B. (1984). Introduction: Thinking and learning in social context. In B. Rogoff & J. Lave (Eds.), *Everyday cognition: Its development in social context* (pp. 1-8). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Scardamalia, M. & Bereiter, C. (1985). The development of dialectical processes in composition. In D. Olson, N. Torrance, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning,* (pp. 307-329). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Spack, R. (1984). Invention strategies and the ESL composition student. *TESOL Quarterly, 18,* 649-670.

Swales, J. & Horowitz, D. (1988, March). Genre-based approaches to ESL and ESP materials. Paper presented at the 22nd Annual TESOL Convention, Chicago.

Zamel, V. (1982). Writing: The process of discovering meaning. *TESOL Quarterly, 16,* 195-210.

Zamel, V. (1983). The composing processes of advanced ESL students: Six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly, 17,* 165-187.

Zamel, V. (1986). Colloquium on the writing process. Colloquium presented at the 20th Annual TESOL Convention, Anaheim.

Zamel, V. (1987). Recent research on writing pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly, 21,* 697-715.

The CATESOL Journal

ALICE M. ROY
California State University, Los Angeles
SANDRA MANO
University of California, Los Angeles

Changing Models for Writing Instruction: Helping ESL Writers Develop a Sense of Audience

■ This article reviews the history of the popularity of the modes of discourse (narration, description, and so on) and shows the change in focus in composition from the modes to the rhetorical situation, with an emphasis on audience. Letter writing is a pedagogical strategy that draws students' attention to the need for consideration of audience. Letter writing activities in writing classes at California State University, Los Angeles; University of California, Los Angeles; and the University of Southern California informally illustrate the benefits of this rich communicative activity for both native and nonnative students of writing. This approach is suggested, not as an alternative to academic writing, but as an entrance into the rhetorical situation of academic discourse.

Most teachers of writing are familiar with classifications of discourse such as narration, description, exposition, and argument. Rhetoricians and compositionists call these well-known types of writing *the modes of discourse*. They were commonly discussed in the early 19th century in Great Britain, became popular in American rhetoric textbooks in the late 19th century, and completely dominated writing instruction well into the 1950s. In contrast, in the 1960s and 1970s, researchers in rhetoric and composition, along with many teachers, changed their focus from the forms of writing to the communicative goals of writing. This change parallels the shift in oral language instruction from an audiolingual to a communicative model.

We wish to ask two questions about practices in writing instruction: How did these traditional classifications of written discourse become so powerful? What goals and strategies of writing instruction have taken their place? To answer these questions, we review the history of the popularity of the modes of discourse and show the change in focus in the profession from the modes to the rhetorical situation, with an emphasis on audience. Finally, we suggest a pedagogical strategy that draws students' attention to the need for consideration of audience.

The Modes

The modes became popular with the publication of the American edition of *English Composition and Rhetoric* by the Scottish rhetorician Alexander Bain (1866). They provided not only a classificatory principle but an instructional guide as well. Higher education in the United States was changing in the second half of the 19th century. Before that time, colleges were small and usually religion centered institutions. The content of study was classical; in rhetoric this meant a focus on genres of writing such as letters, treatises, essays, biographies, fiction, parables, and so on (Connors, 1981, p. 446). After 1860, many large colleges and universities were established. They were less classically oriented and more interested in varied studies, especially science. The focus in rhetoric shifted from the classical attention to eloquence and style to an emphasis on forms. With more students and larger classes, forms were easier to teach. Furthermore, the new educated man was expected to write error-free prose and follow directions. As M. J. Maynes (1985) points out in *Schooling in Western Europe*, the industrial revolution called for workers who could follow directions and for a middle-management population that felt comfortable with the expectations of the owner class. Emphasizing forms and grammar above interaction with real audiences helped to satisfy these goals.

In the late 19th century, no textbook that did not assert the four modes sold well. During this time as well a book called *Paragraph-Writing* (Scott & Denney, 1891) appeared. The typology of paragraphs was drawn from the classical Aristotelian topics of invention—contrast, explanation, definition, illustration, details, and proofs (Connors, 1981, p. 448). Such paragraphs were assumed to be part of the "big four" types of essays: narration, description, exposition, and argument. Sometimes persuasion was treated as another mode, but generally it was considered as part of argument. At the turn of the century, books began to appear on one or the other of the modes singly, for example, *Expository Writing* or *The Principles of Argumentation* (Connors, 1981).

The modes completely controlled the scene of instruction in writing in the U.S. until the 1930s. The fact that the teaching of writing had not always been focused on these forms was lost to memory—the modes seemed to have been graven in stone. Of the single-mode texts, those on expository writing took over the market. The methods of developmment such as definition, classification and division, contrast, exemplification, and so on were raised from their status of paragraph development to the essay level. So what were at one point submodal methods of organization came to take on modal status. Many teachers will have "gone to school" to these modes and methods. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, they held absolute sway: That was what instructors taught because that was what there was to teach.

Change in Focus

The modes are not so much the primary organizing principle of college writing texts today, though they still, along with the submodes of organization such as classification, comparison, and so on, determine the table of contents of many essay readers and many ESL/EFL writing textbooks. Current composition theorists and researchers hold that the modes of discourse, though still popular, are less useful as instructional plans than writing assignments that grow out of a consideration of audience and intention. The modes have come to seem static, functionless, removed from social context. As Crowley (1984) points out, the modes are "persistently a-rhetorical" because they rest on only two thirds of the classical communication triangle—writer and text—excluding audience from the scene.

Much research has been done in the past two decades to help us understand the writing process, or processes, of both experienced and developing writers, in both first and second language. Knowledge of writing process has helped us make room in writing classes and revising as integral parts of writing. Subsequent process research has shown that planning and revising entail crucial attention to a writer's purpose in regard to a certain audience (Berlin, 1987).

As early as 1963, Wayne Booth wrote of the interactive effect of authorial intention and a known responding audience upon student writing (Booth, 1963). Berkenkotter (1981) examined audience awareness more empirically, showing some effects of such awareness on revision. Ede (1984) reviews research on audience, focusing on rhetorical, linguistic, and cognitive approaches, and Ede and Lunsford (1984) discuss pedagogical implications of the differences between writing for a known audience and writing for an audience that the writer must imagine and invoke. Current articles and textbooks embody the renewal of interest in audience that has characterized the past decade, a renewal that Kroll (1984) claims is as definitive for the 1980s as the renewal of interest in invention was for the discipline of composition in the 1970s.

A Model Strategy

One of the genres that characterized instruction in writing before the modes became popular was letter writing. We present this strategy here as one example of a writing activity that raises students' awareness of the need to consider audience. This is a particularly appropriate strategy for teaching the concept of audience because the act of writing a letter assumes the presence of a recipient. We suggest this pedagogical approach, not as an alternative to academic writing but as an entrance into the rhetorical situation of academic discourse.

The results of letter writing activities in writing classes at California State University, Los Angeles; University of California, Los Angeles; and the University of Southern California illustrate the benefits of this rich communicative activity for both native and nonnative students of writing. Writing a letter allows students to participate in a genuine communicative context. Further, being committed to a real writing task helps them forget their anxieties about composing, thereby enabling them to enjoy the writing experience.

In teaching basic writing to a class of primarily nonnative speakers, we were concerned with several problems. First, how could we help students attend to a specific audience? Second, how could we support them in overcoming their writing anxiety, which often manifested itself in their inability to begin writing, or to write much, and help them to stop worrying inappropriately about errors? We observed that even when students were able to write, the essays were often written with a bottle of correction fluid in hand. This overconcern with error and neatness appeared to inhibit the writing process. Third, and not incidentally, how could we get our students to arrive on time for an 8 a.m. class? Letter writing was a possible solution. If we wrote at the beginning of class and students were interested in receiving and answering their letters, they would show up on time. We predicted that if they got caught up in communicating, their anxiety would lessen.

In order to accomplish these goals, we arranged for students to spend the first 15 minutes of the class writing to a member of another class. Their first letter was to an unknown reader, and they had to think of ways to introduce themselves to a stranger. Some students were shy and chose pen names, but everyone participated. At the same time that students wrote, we wrote to the other teacher. We wanted to show students that we considered letter writing a real and important activity, different from a classroom exercise. Letters provided a means of meeting new people, communicating ideas, sharing useful information (many students began asking students at the next level of writing about their experiences in that class), and at the same time practicing writing in a less threatening context, for this writing wouldn't be read or corrected by the teacher. The standard would be the reader's acceptance of the information that the writer wanted to convey.

Results

Results were immediately apparent. Students arrived on time for class eager to see what their pen pal had to say. They happily did this warm-up writing which, like free writing, served the function of loosening them up for the day's in-class essay. At the end of the quarter the two classes had a joint party so that students could meet their correspondents. After 10 weeks of writing and receiving letters, they had often formed new friendships. Class evaluations were extremely high, and many students expressed their pleasure with the letter writing assignments.

The students obtained both tacit and overt information about audience through letter writing. They had to decide how to present themselves to an unknown audience. How formal or informal should their writing be? In addition, they needed to understand something about the conventions of letter writing. What format is appropriate for an informal letter? How does it differ from a formal letter? How should the writer address the other person? What about word choice—is slang appropriate? In such exchanges, the audience does not remain static. As the writer grows to know the audience better, how do letters change? What use does a writer make of the information and tone of the other writer's letter? We never corrected the letters or censored or restricted the topics students could write about, though we would give assistance if asked.

Letter writing can also be focused on specific topics. In more advanced classes, students can write about their writing history, current writing problems, and discoveries they make about composing. They, too, have to consider audience. How much do they have to tell their readers for them to understand a problem or solution? If they have given too little information, this real audience will ask for clarification.

Another model uses letter writing between classes of native and nonnative speakers. The topics of the letters can be information about projects each class is carrying out. For example, one possible project is for each student, or students in pairs, to observe a group in the community in order to report on uses of oral and written language. The letters communicate what each person has discovered, making audience a prime consideration. The writer needs to make sure the reader has enough background knowledge about the particular project. She must also decide what information to repeat, depending on how much time has passed between letters.

Letter writing doesn't have to be long-term to be effective. A letter makes an excellent diagnostic since students can perform in a real writing situation and thus lose some of the inhibitions they develop when they have to write for a new teacher. Topics can include a letter to a friend on a variety of subjects such as first impressions of a new school, a problem encountered, experiences in a new country, difficulties learning English, and discussions of favorite films, TV programs, or books.

Theoretical Implications

James Britton (1975), in the massive study *The Development of Writing Abilities*, shows (and deplores the fact) that in the schools, once past the very earliest elementary grades, students write only for teachers and their message is only the message the teachers want. Janet Emig's (1971) study, *The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders*, provides further evidence of this situation. Similarly, in much of composition teaching, for both native and nonnative speakers of English, we see that frequently the form is taught and specified for students' writing.

Certainly, organizational plans are important in academic writing, and in teaching writing we need to teach the importance of planning. It is a way of attending to audience. Organizational strategies such as classification or comparison are cognitive strategies, operations which we all use every day just to cross a street or make out a shopping list, but which developing writers may not have conscious control of for writing tasks. Nonnative speakers of English will need help to identify and become comfortable with rhetorical approaches that are characteristic of writing in English. But strategies for dealing with the speaker-hearer-subject relationship need to be organically related to a writer's purpose and sense of audience; they should not be taught only through big fill-in-the-blank exercises, using paragraphs instead of words. Letter writing is only one of many activities that relate purpose to audience; for example, "I-search" papers (Macrorie, 1986), interviews, and reports on school and community issues provide other opportunities to make intention and audience real considerations in the writing process.

As writing becomes more and more important for the acquisition of a second or other language, teachers need to consider what underlying assumptions they bring to this area of teaching language. Most teachers at all levels—from elementary teachers through university professors—learned writing in a system of writing instruction that has a very long history. Textbook writers and publishers share this education. This history, as recent historians of composition and rhetoric have shown, is context bound. The modes as we know them at one point did not exist. At another point the concept of modes exerted a powerful influence, having developed in response to socioeconomic pressures as well as changes in the intellectual climate. Now that influence is waning, as we come to see that considerations of purpose and audience are what produce writing that communicates meaningful content in an interactive transaction between a real speaker-writer and a listening, responding reader. ■

Alice M. Roy is assistant professor of English and linguistics at California State University, Los Angeles. She is co-chair of the National ESL Committee for the Conference on College Composition and Communication.

Sandra Mano is a lecturer in the UCLA Writing Programs. She received her PhD in rhetoric, language and literature from the University of Southern California.

References

Bain, A. (1866). *English composition and rhetoric* . New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Berkenkotter, C. (1981). Understanding a writer's awareness of audience. *College Composition and Communication, 32,* 388-399.

Berlin, J. (1987). *Rhetoric and reality: Writing instruction in American colleges, 1900-1985.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Booth, W. (1963) The rhetorical stance. *College Composition and Communication, 17*

Britton, J. et. al. (1975). *The development of writing abilities*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.

Connors, R. (1981). The rise and fall of the modes of discourse. *College Composition and Communication, 32,* 444-455.

Crowley, S. (1984). Response to Robert J. Connors' the rise and fall of the modes of discourse. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* 88-91.

Ede, L. (1984). Audience: An introduction to research. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* 155-171.

Ede, L. & Lunsford, A. (1984). Audience addressed/audience invoked: The role of audience in composition theory and pedagogy. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* 155-171.

Emig, J. (1971). *The composing processes of twelfth graders*. Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Kroll, B. M. (1984). Writing for readers: Three perspectives on audience. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* 12-185.

Macrorie, K. (1986). *Searching writing*. Upper Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook. (Original work published 1980)

Maynes, M. J. (1985). *Schooling in western Europe*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Scott, F. N. & Denney, J. V. (1891). *Paragraph-writing*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

The CATESOL Journal

Alice A. Addison
Santa Maria Joint Union
High School District

Comprehensible Textbooks in Science for the Nonnative English-Speaker: Evidence from Discourse Analysis

■ **This paper develops practical applications of the author's 1983 work, which used discourse analysis to compare textbooks providing practical scientific knowledge for ninth grade general science. The author collected data on the reading comprehension of 72 subjects (30 nonnative and 42 native English-speaking students) on the same passages. Her research considered readability of textbooks on three planes: (1) usage, (2) use, and (3) interaction. The main implication derived from the study is that both nonnative and native English readers will greatly benefit from instructional materials and teaching strategies that provide multiple access to science information. This supports the research findings of Cummins (1981, 1982), Krashen (1981,1982), Widdowson (1978, 1979), Long (1982, 1985) and Long and Sati (1983) on sheltering (contextualizing), higher level questioning, authentic language, and interaction for second language acquisition. Implications for textbook writers and selectors and content area and ESL teachers are given, along with suggestions for sheltering the English of science textbooks.**

This paper may be of interest to both high school educators, especially those involved in reading for content areas, and linguistic researchers. It begins by providing definitions and background in the field of discourse analysis in relation to scientific texts. The major portion of the paper then describes research conducted by the author on the kinds of discourse employed in science textbooks for secondary school students. The paper concludes with some discussion of practical implications of this work and some suggestions for sheltering the English of science for textbook writers, textbook selectors, and teachers of both English as a second language and the content areas.

The main implication derived from the study is that both nonnative and native English readers will greatly benefit from instructional materials and teaching strategies that provide multiple access to science information. Science textbooks achieve greater comprehensibility through instructional verbal text (words, sentences, paragraphs), through explicative iconic text (drawings, photos, tables), and through the kinds of questions that stimulate high levels of student-textbook interaction.

The two passages below are taken from textbooks used in ninth grade science classes in a California high school where students were both native and nonnative readers of English. Passage A was taken from the academic class textbook *Everyday Problems in Science* (Hurd & Mayfield, 1972). Passage V was taken from the vocational class textbook for non-college-bound students *Concepts and Challenges in Life Science* (Bernstein, Schachter, Winkler, & Wolfe, 1979).

Passage A

> The inner defenses of our bodies include two main groups of germ fighters. One group is made up of white blood cells. You have already learned that some of these wrap themselves around and destroy germs. When germs get inside the body where they can grow and reproduce, the white cells usually attack them almost at once. Since white blood cells are in blood and lymph, they are carried to every part of the body. Some stay in one place and attack any germs that come near. Others travel to the place where the germs are and then attack them. Sometimes, instead of destroying germs, the white cells form a wall around them. This often happens when tuberculosis germs get into the lungs. The wall keeps the germs and their toxins from spreading. In time, this wall becomes thick and hard.
>
> If germs that get inside are not destroyed quickly, the body usually speeds up its making of white cells. An increase of white cells is nearly always a symptom of an infection in some part of the body. Doctors consider this symptom when they make a diagnosis. To find if the white cells have been increased, a small amount of blood is drawn from the body and examined through a microscope. The white cells in a certain volume of blood are counted. In a severe infection, the count may show two or three times as many white cells as usual.

Passage V

> White blood cells. Some germs enter the body by getting past the defenses of the skin and the respiratory organs. When this happens, the body's second line of defense goes to work. The white blood cells are the second line of defense. White blood cells travel through the blood in search of bacteria. The white cells can even squeeze through the walls of the capillaries. Outside the blood vessels, they surround bacteria. They destroy the bacteria by digesting them.
>
> How do white blood cells help protect the body?

These two passages treat similar topics at similar readability levels, but they differ in important ways. To explore these differences, the research reported here used discourse analysis of the passages, as well as cloze tests of students and recall interviews. I will begin by defining terminology used in discourse analysis and in the discussion of the contexts of use for science.

Definitions

Discourse refers to language use, that is the communicative function of language. *Discourse analysis* is defined here as the investigation of the way sentences are put to communicative use (Widdowson, 1979a, pp. 92-93). In functional terms *scientific discourse* is a set of rhetorical (illocutionary) acts, such as defining, classifying, and exemplifying. Thus, *discourse analysis of texts* in Widdowson's sense is the investigation of the formal properties of a piece of language beyond the limts of a sentence.

If Widdowson's (1979a) definition of scientific discourse as "a set of rhetorical acts" (p. 16) is accepted, then there is clearly a need to consider approaches to text analysis that go beyond traditional approaches to what makes textbooks difficult or easy. For example, there is more to determining reading ease than readability formulae, which are nearly always based on grammatical and lexical properties of texts alone, not on discourse properties. And, while it has been shown that scientific English contains certain categories of *usage*, such as frequent passives, long nominal groups, and relative clauses (Strevens, 1980; Master, 1982), an emerging line of research focuses on the notion of *use*, the communicative function of the language of science.

Instead of analyzing science texts as examples of scientific English usage, I chose to examine discourse—the communicative functions of language, such as generalization, qualification, explanation. I focused the discourse analysis on the coherence relationships between illocutions (the communicative acts that sentences are used to perform, such as the functions listed above). *Coherence* is "the link between" these communicative acts (Widdowson, 1979a, p. 87).

I also saw a need to analyze the interactive negotiation of meanings and the structures of communication an author uses to convey information to the reader. This interactive relation concerns such acts as initiation, response, and elicitation. Thus, the discourse analysis of the science texts discussed here goes beyond readability formulae in determining what makes a text easy or difficult to read and beyond specific features of scientific English usage in determining what constitutes the special register of science. The study examines the effectiveness of the communication between author and reader along three planes of discourse—usage, use, and interaction—each of which is discussed in more detail below.

Background

In the mid- to late 1970s the field of English for Science and Technology (EST) was a major area of linguistic research at the university level. Selinker, Trimble and Trimble (1975), for example, published their Rhetorical Process Chart to show how the language of science coveyed information on several rhetorical levels.

Table 1

Rhetorical Process Chart
English for Science and Technology (EST)*

Level	Description
A	Objectives of the total discourse. Examples: 1. Detailing an experiment 2. Making a recommendation 3. Presenting new hypotheses, theories 4. Presenting other ESL information
B	General rhetorical functions employed to develop the objectives of Level A Examples: 1. Stating purpose 2. Reporting past research 3. Discussing theory 4. Stating the problem 5. Presenting information on apparatus: Description 6. Presenting information on apparatus: Operation 7. Presenting information on experimental procedures 8. Referencing an illustration 9. Relating an illustration to the discussion
C	Specific rhetorical functions employed to develop the general functions of Level B Examples: 1. Definition 2. Classification 3. Description: physical, function 4. Description: process
D	Rhetorical techniques that provide relationships within and between the units of Level C Examples: 1. Time order 5. Comparison 2. Space order 6. Contrast 3. Causality 7. Analogy 4. Result 8. Exemplification

*This is a revised version of the rhetorical section of the Rhetorical Grammatical Process Chart (Lackstrom, Selinker and Trimble, 1975)

Such research implied that teachers of university courses for nonnative English speakers could teach specific aspects of the language pertinent to their courses—aspects of English for science, for example, or more specifically, English for engineers.

At the same time Widdowson (1979a) proposed ideas about the language of science that went beyond identifying specific vocabulary items or grammatical constructions (e.g., heavy noun compounds, passive voice verbs). He claimed that the language of science can be viewed as a specific cultural type. For Widdowson, reading in science is reading an international language which employs particular rhetorical processes, including definitions, exemplifications, and generalization. In whatever language of the world, the scientific method has followed similar stages of development and the literature of science world-wide has identifiable rhetorical features. Thus, learning what these features are might be very useful to students who must read and write in this field.

While this kind of thinking was evidenced in the EST literature, research on discourse—the analysis of the rhetorical forms used in expository texts, for example—began to provide detailed insight into the complexity of exposition. Meyer (1975) and Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) conducted discourse analysis research on various rhetorical processes involved in reading expository texts. They found specific types of idea units—propositions—and began to outline the rhetorical structure of the content of the texts they investigated. Meyer (1975) classified rhetorical predicates in 18 ways, an example of which is the *alternative rhetorical predicate,* in which equally weighted options are given. One of her sample sentences—*Recovery is slowed down or halted*—appears in a content structure tree diagram with *slowed down* and *halted* on the same level of content structure, related to each other by the *alternative* rhetorical predicate *or*. Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) analyzed one of their sample texts—*A series of violent, bloody encounters between police and Black Panther Party members punctuated the early summer days of 1969*—into seven propositions beginning with *series, encounter* and ending with *time: in, summer, 1969.* This propositional research provides detailed insights into the complexity of expository texts.

These types of research—on EST and on the propositional structure of expository texts—stimulated the research discussed in this article.

Study of Science Texts and Students

Prior to the early 1980s the literature consisted primarily of research on EST and propositional analyses of texts at the university level, mostly with native English speakers. My 1983 study of high school science textbooks broke new ground both by analyzing the discourse of high school science textbooks and by collecting data on both native and nonnative English-speaking students in science classes using these texts. I took a detailed look at the discourse and interactive features of science materials written for native English speakers and used with both native and nonnative English speakers. My research also posed the question of what simplification for reading in science means.

I compared the textbooks providing practical scientific knowledge for ninth grade general science in two programs: vocational preparation (assumed noncollege-bound) and academic (college) preparation. I also collected data on the reading comprehension of 72 subjects (42 native and 30 nonnative English-speaking students) of the same passages. Typically, at this level native English-speaking (NE) and nonnative English speaking (NN) students are enrolled in the same science classes. Usually, however, higher numbers of NNs are enrolled in the vocational program classes. The unstated assumption is that the "simpler" textbooks used in these classes are more easily mastered by limited English proficient students. This assumption of simplicity formed the basis for three questions:

1. Is the vocational text really simpler than the academic text? Is it more instructive?

2. How do NEs and NNs compare in reading comprehension measures based on such textbooks?

3. What is the relationship of text features to reading comprehension for NE and NN students?

I analyzed passages of 800 to 1200 words on the same topics (the skeleton and the body's defenses against germs) in both textbooks, looking at three planes of discourse with which the readers of both science texts must deal.

Plane 1: Usage

Usage includes surface forms identified by traditional readability formulae, the vocabulary and grammatical complexity of the material. Both the Flesch Formula (1948) and the Fry Graph (1968) were used to show by syllable count and average sentence length the grade level readability of each passage. In addition, the authors' or editors' stated reading level of each textbook and a clause complexity index (Cook, 1979) provided information on the difficulty level of the texts.

Plane 2: Use

Use relates to the coherence of the text as a series of illocutionary acts, or rhetorical functions—the writer's attempt to convey a particular meaning to the reader by means of language organized into discourse. An investigation of language use shows information is conveyed to the reader through rhetorical devices such as definitions, generalization, and additive informatives; and how the paragraphs convey information deductively, inductively, or in a balanced way. Table 2 presents an outline of the discourse members found in these science texts. A *member* is a sentence, question, title, subtitle, caption, or label appearing in the verbal text of the passage. When classified according to their functions in the discourse, members of the passages fall into three basic categories: focusing, instructing, and glossing.

Table 2

Discourse Members

Focusing:	Focusing statement Question Subtitle/label Section focus/title

Instructing:	Recall
	Reiteration
	Particularization
	Informative
	  Generalized informative
	  Additive informative
	  Substantiating informative
	  Restricted informative
	  Contrastive informative
	  Evaluative informative
	  Hypothetical informative
	  Corrective informative

Glossing:	Restatement Pointer Directive Comment Aside

Rather than attempt to describe the full 50 pages of analysis of discourse functions of members in the texts, I have provided a representative sample paragraph from the academic program text in Table 3.

Table 3

Sample Analysis of Text

Passage A1
Paragraph 2
(Deductive: generalization—examples)
(Description)

Member	Discourse function
a. Your skeleton forms the framework of bones that supports the rest of your body.	Focusing statement Generalized informative

b. Some of the bones, such as the skull and the ribs, protect delicate organs inside your body.	Restricted informative
c. You could not move about as you do if you had no bones to act as levels.	Additive informative
d. Your skeleton is rigid enough to hold your body in shape, yet joints between the bones allow them to move.	Contrastive informative
e. There are more than 200 bones in the human body.	Additive informative and end of paragraph informatives
f. The pictures on page 146 show the main parts of the skeleton.	Pointer (implied) and end of paragraph

Paragraph 2 from passage A1 is a deductive description which leads from a generalization to examples. Its members are defined as:

focusing statement: a declarative introduction to a new concept, usually following a paragraph boundary;

generalized informative: a declarative that presents the general concepts talked about in adjacent discourse;

restrictive informative: a declarative with some form of limiting words on the concept;

contrastive informative: a declarative which provides an opposing idea; and

pointer: a glossing member which directs the reader to nonlinear information in pictures and charts.

As can be seen in the discourse member list and the sample paragraph, the detailed discourse analysis focused on the illocutionary functions of the passages. The discourse of the academic passages contains a higher percentage of instructing functions than does the discourse of the vocational passages. Table 4 presents Plane 2, the paragraph types and member discourse functions, for the academic passages (A1, A2) and the vocational passages (V1, V2) in relation to Planes 1 and 3.

Table 4
Internal Text Analysis Summary

			Text passage	A1	A2	V1	V2
READING EASE	VERBAL TEXT	BODY COPY	Author's/Editor's description	for average 9th grader		4th-5th grade	
			Readability: Fry Average				
			Fry Average	6th		4th	
			Fry 100-word	6th	4th	4th	8th
			Flesch average	6th		6th	
			Flesch 100-word	6th	6th	6th	8-9th
			Style complexity	simple	medium	simple	simple
DISCOURSE			**Paragraph types:**				
			Logic	deductive	balanced	deductive	other
			Illocutionary function (% instructive)	77%	82%	63%	64%
			Member discourse functions:				
			Focusing	40%	32%	27%	49%
			Instructing	52%	65%	53%	34%
			Glossing	8%	3%	20%	17%
OTHER TEXT FEATURES	ICONIC TEXT	LAYOUT	**Typographics:**				
			Access functions	Roughly Equivalent			
			Rhetorical functions	Roughly Equivalent			
			Macropunctuation	Long Information Flow		Short Information Flow	
			Illustrations:				
			Motivational	8%		20%	33%
			Explicative/ retentional	92%	100%	80%	67%
	QUESTION	OTHER	**Question types:**				
			Above factual level	34%	45%	11%	25%

Plane 3: Interaction

Plane 3 focuses on the various acts the author uses to involve the reader. Of particular interest is the use of illustrations and questions for instructional support. Illustrations are classified as:

motivational: to get the reader's attention;

explicative: to explain an idea that is not clearly expressed by words; and

retentional: to increase the memorability and retentional value of the prose to which the illustration is related.

As Table 4 shows the academic passages (A1, A2) employ more information-carrying illustrations than the vocational passages do. These provide the reader more contextual clues to facilitate comprehension of the verbal text. Interaction of reader and text is also affected by the types of questions for the passage, ranging from factual—requiring verbatim recall—through a Bloom's Taxonomy of question types above the factual level. As Table 4 shows, the percentage of questions above the factual level in the academic text runs from over a third to nearly half of the questions, while in the vocational passages only a tenth to a quarter of the questions are above the factual-recall level. The difference in the quality of questions relates to the quality of information the student thinks about while reading and answering questions. The interaction of reader and text is affected by authors' and editors' choices of illustrations and questions.

The detailed analysis of these science texts shows that the assumption of simplicity, or reading ease, of the vocational text is at least questionable. While the authors and editors judge the vocational text to be easier than the academic one, the readability formulae and style complexity indices disagree. The issue of the relationship of text features to reading comprehension is more complex than indicated by readability formulae or clause complexity (Plane 1). It involves not only overall reading ease but also discourse relationships and other text features. For high school science textbooks, the relationship of text features to reading comprehension concerns not merely word and sentence length (Plane 1), but the ways all the information on the page is conveyed to the reader. An analysis of textbook discourse (Plane 2) and interaction (Plane 3) shows that science textbook discourse involves rhetorical functions in the verbal text as well as interaction through illustrations and question types.

By paragraph type and discourse function, the academic passages devote a higher percentage of verbal text to instruction than do the vocational passages. A higher percentage of illustrations in the academic passages is instructional. Finally, compared to the vocational text the academic text contains a higher percentage of questions above the factual level. These results indicate that:

(1) The academic text may be as easy to read as the vocational text because the discourse functions engage the reader instructionally. The illustrations and questions support the instructional role of the verbal text.

(2) The vocational text may discourage the reader from gaining as much information on a topic as the academic text provides because the vocational text uses less explicative verbal text and fewer informational illustrations to support the reader. If the purpose of content area reading is to gain information, then the text needs to provide multiple means for the reader to gather that information, means that involve all three planes of discourse.

In addition to the analysis of science texts, exploratory data were collected from readers of these texts.[2] Many dimensions of reading comprehension were measured. NE and NN student performance with these texts was analyzed through classroom observation, cloze testing, free and cued recalls, and subjective comments from students. The results of the cloze testing (Tables 5 and 6), recalls, and subjective comments of seven students support the tentative conclusions of the text analyses.

[See Tables 5 and 6]

Conclusions and Further Questions

(1) The complex relationship of text features to reading comprehension involves all three planes of discourse and cannot adequately be judged by readability formulae, which assess only Plane 1 features.

(2) It is questionable whether the vocational text is necessarily simpler than the academic text, particularly when positive redundancy factors (e.g., illustrations, exemplifications) are considered. The longer text may provide more opportunity to understand the science concepts, to acquire the "science culture." A two-paragraph explanation of the action of white blood cells, with examples of diseases and infections and a graphic illustration may actually make the reading less difficult to comprehend than a shorter one-paragraph version with no space devoted to examples or clear illustration of the concept.

(3)The academic text is not necessarily more difficult. The cloze showed that the academic and vocational students performed similarly on three of the four passages (A1, V1, and V2), whether the cloze passage was from the academic or vocational textbook. On the fourth passage (A2), the nonnative speakers scored higher than the native English speakers. Furthermore, the NNs scored higher than the NE vocational students on all passages. Does this mean that reading comprehension of NNs compares favorably to that of NEs on both texts? That is, once the NNs have been judged fluent enough in English to succeed in an English-only curriculum, is there reason to believe that they can benefit from the same types of material as do the native English speakers?

Table 5
Performance of Subjects on Cloze Tests Scored by Exact-Replacement Method

Test		NEs			NNs			Total*		
Form	Class	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
A1	Ac.	18	15.83	2.24	4	15.25	3.77	22	15.73	2.60
	Voc.	12	10.83	4.88	9	12.00	2.58	21	11.33	4.10
	Ex.	5	16.00	2.61	6	13.00	1.53	11	14.36	2.57
	ESL				6	9.00	2.58	6	9.00	2.58
								T3	19.00	3.56
	Total	35	14.14	4.18	25	12.04	3.30			
V1	Ac.	18	14.89	2.83	4	15.50	4.56	22	15.00	3.22
	Voc.	12	9.92	4.87	9	12.44	3.30	21	11.00	4.45
	Ex.	5	15.60	3.01	6	12.17	3.53	11	13.83	3.72
	ESL				6	8.83	3.93	6	8.83	3.93
								T3	22.00	3.56
	Total	35	13.29	4.42	25	12.00	4.29			
A2	Ac.	13	12.00	2.35	6	13.17	2.91	19	12.37	2.60
	Voc.	14	8.07	4.11	11	9.36	4.56	25	8.64	4.36
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	8.00	3.42	6	8.00	3.42
								T3	20.00	.82
	Total	27	9.96	3.91	23	10.00	4.36			
V2	Ac.	13	14.54	2.24	6	15.00	3.37	19	14.68	2.66
	Voc.	14	9.93	4.30	11	10.91	3.87	25	10.36	4.15
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	8.67	2.21	6	8.67	2.21
								T3	17.33	1.25
	Total	27	12.15	4.16	23	11.39	4.10			

NEs = Native English-speaking students.
NNs = Nonnative English-speaking students.
A1, A2 = academic textbook passages; V1, V2 = vocational.
Types of classes are academic (Ac.), vocational (Voc.),
an extra science class (Ex.), and ESL.
*Totals for students can be read vertically or horizontally.
Data on 3 teachers (T3) is added in column 5 only.

Table 6
Performance of Subjects on Cloze Tests Scored by Contextually-Acceptable Replacement Method

Test Form	Class	NEs			NNs			Total*		
		N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
A1	Ac.	18	21.39	2.59	4	20.50	4.50	22	21.23	3.04
	Voc.	12	14.25	6.10	9	17.11	3.54	21	15.48	5.35
	Ex.	5	21.00	2.37	6	18.00	1.91	11	19.36	2.60
	ESL				6	13.17	3.24	6	13.17	3.24
								T3	26.00	1.41
	Total	35	18.86	5.31	25	16.92	4.11			
V1	Ac.	18	20.56	3.93	4	20.50	5.68	22	20.55	4.30
	Voc.	12	14.33	6.65	9	18.11	4.12	21	15.95	6.00
	Ex.	5	21.40	2.42	6	15.50	3.45	11	18.18	4.22
	ESL				6	12.33	4.11	6	12.33	4.11
								T3	27.00	.82
	Total	35	18.54	5.77	25	16.48	5.11			
A2	Ac.	13	17.54	2.41	6	19.33	5.47	19	18.11	3.75
	Voc.	14	12.07	5.92	11	13.45	5.81	25	12.68	5.91
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	10.67	3.90	6	10.67	3.90
								T3	25.00	1.63
	Total	27	14.70	5.33	23	14.26	6.19			
V2	Ac.	13	20.77	3.60	6	21.17	4.06	19	20.89	3.75
	Voc.	14	14.57	5.77	11	16.27	5.74	25	15.32	5.82
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	11.50	3.04	6	11.50	3.04
								T3	25.33	1.25
	Total	27	17.56	5.75	23	16.30	5.89			

NEs = Native English-speaking students.
NNs = Nonnative English-speaking students.
A1, A2 = academic textbook passages; V1, V2 = vocational.
Types of classes are academic (Ac.), vocational (Voc.), an extra science class (Ex.), and ESL.
*Totals for students can be read vertically or horizontally.
Data on 3 teachers (T3) is added in column 5 only.

In order to determine the reading level of a text, rather than asking how complex the syntax of the text is as measured by readability formulae, we need to ask whether the material provides multiple access to the required information.

In Cummins' (1981, 1982) terms is the material cognitively undemanding (easy) or cognitively demanding (difficult)? Is the material context embedded (with all sorts of extra clues) or is it context reduced (with few clues)? How do we deal with material in the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) arena? How can it be sheltered?

In Krashen's (1981, 1982) terms is the material providing *i + 1* comphensible input? Does the material provide the student a means to acquire knowledge because the input (*i*) is one increment (*+ 1*) above the present state of knowledge? Students in content area classes need to be able to apply increasingly higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy (factual knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation) to language in use.

Widdowson's (1978, 1979a, 1979b) concerns about authentic language and simplification are also worth considering. Often students are trained to develop reading skills with artificial or overly simplified texts. Is the material used to develop increasingly higher level skills representative of what the students must face outside the language or reading classroom? Are "simple" skills integrated into an organic, authentic whole? Does simplification of form necessarily mean easier text? Instead of restricting the amount of language to which the student is exposed, how do we focus the learner's attention on that language, keep the learner on the instructional task?

As Long (1982, 1985) and Long & Sato (1983) have emphasized in their seond language acquisition studies, what I have described as Plane 3 in the discourse—interaction—is a key feature for comprehensible input. The study reported here calls into question traditional assumptions about reading ease. When evaluating materials in all three planes of discourse, all information on the page needs to be considered. Only then can the effectiveness of a particular text be evaluated. The most effective textbooks, then, would be those which provide the greatest amount of comprehensible input through verbal and nonverbal means. Comprehension questions, at increasingly more interactive levels of Bloom's Taxonomy, would be another important indication of effectiveness.

Implications

Since these conclusions are based on a case study of two science textbooks and the students assigned to read them, they must be tempered by the possibility that the experimental portion of the study is unique to these textbooks and these students. Nevertheless, the study has pedagogical implications for the high school science curriculum in particular, and perhaps for other curriculum domains as well. It reflects a concern for teaching language as communication—for teaching use, rather than grammaticality of usage. Content area teachers need to evaluate textbooks from the perspective of the way the text comunicates information to the readers. As Widdowson (1979a) states, the real purpose of reading is "to derive from this interaction something which sustains or extends (the reader's) conceptual world" (p. 180). This claim implies that:

(1) Textbook writers who propose to write texts for limited English proficient students need an understanding of the features that promote comprehensibility: interaction and contextual clues. Sheltered English for science does not necessarily imply simplification of grammatical usage, i.e., making shorter sentences with shorter words. (*Sheltered English* is content area instruction in English provided for nonnative English speakers who have intermediate to advanced fluency in English [California State Department of Education, 1984]). Sheltered English is characterized in part by more contextual clues and interactions than would be usual among native English speakers. Interactions and redundancy in contextual clues through repetitions, expansions, and exemplifications in the verbal text and nonverbally through illustrations, charts, and photos are critical supports for the reader. The longer text may be better for the nonnative English speakers because of the interaction and redundancy factors.[3]

(2) Textbook selection for science should be based on the quality of science information conveyed through all planes of the text, not on readability formulae alone.

(3) Content area teachers need to teach their students how to interact with the textbooks. Teaching reading for the information of science involves teaching particular rhetorical functions that appear in science textbooks. For example, deductive paragraphs begin with generalizations and contain additive, contrastive and evaluative information.

(4) ESL teachers and content science teachers can work together to help students learn to interact with texts. Nonnative English speakers who are ready for sheltered English instruction can benefit from academic program texts if the science teacher provides access to the material by teaching students how to read the textbook for the scientific information it contains. The ESL teachers can begin the process of preparation for content instruction by integrating a functional-notional approach using authentic material from science textbooks in the ESL classroom. Such instruction integrates the purposes for communicating—functions like explaining an idea or making a judgment—with the notions of grammar and vocabulary taught in traditional language classes. ESL students may be trained to predict the flow of a paragraph from generalization through additive informatives to particularizations. Both ESL and content area teachers can provide study skills strategies of the SQ3R type for their students.[5] And certainly, both the ESL and content teachers can participate in sheltered English training activities, exchange vocabulary lists, and share course outlines. Something as simple as making sure the ESL teacher has a copy of the content area textbook to use as a reference is an important initial step.

Suggestions for Sheltering the English of Science Textbooks

Below are 15 starter ideas for ESL and content teachers to assist the limited English proficient reader in gaining knowledge from textbooks. This preliminary list is provided here as a sample of the range of activities teachers can use. These sheltering suggestions enhance interaction and context clues (1, 2, 6, 9, 15); modify the presentation of the material (3, 8, 11, 12); raise student awareness of the structure of the information (5, 10, 13); and personalize the learning to the students' needs (2, 7, 14).

1. Use confirmation checks: Is this what it means?
2. Use comprehension checks: Do you understand what it says?
3. Use clarification requests: What do you mean by that?
4. Repeat or expand through restatements, antonymns, synonyms, explanations, diagrams, pictures, and other examples.
5. Use a variety of question types at increasingly higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy and both display and referential questions. *Display questions* seek only answers to what the teacher already knows, while *referential questions* ask for information which the questioner doesn't have.
6. Use problem-solving, task-based, and cooperative learning activities in the classroom and for homework assignments.
7. Personalize the lessons to the students' background.
8. Provide wait time and brainstorming for student responses.
9. Use a multisensory approach.
10. Provide various study skill strategies. Common questions for the students to pose about material are: What does the title mean? What do you already know about the topic? What do the illustrations tell about the topic? What do the comprehension questions indicate to be of importance? (Several academic teachers I've observed assign the students to write 10 to 25 questions per chapter for which they will find answers.)
11. Model the reading aloud while the students begin silent reading. The teacher poses questions while reading aloud to show the prediction stratgegies used while reading. (I've used this strategy for both content area and literature readings and noticed I could focus on, expand, and personalize new vocabulary through the read aloud/question/predict strategy.)
12. Ask students to paraphrase key ideas after reading.
13. Have the students transfer the information to a different form. Widdowson (1979b) suggests nonverbal translation from prose text to charts and vice versa to show relationships, such as concept-class characteristics.
14. Have students personalize key concepts by role playing.
15. Set up debates to clarify and evaluate key issues.

What began as a detailed discourse analysis of the textbooks used in secondary science classrooms has evolved into a brainstorming on sheltering stategies for content instruction. The reader is invited to extend the list of strategies for all content instruction.[5] ■

[1] Appreciation to Ulla Connor and David Harris for their assistance during my dissertation work at Georgetown University. I also wish to thank Hideko Bannai, David Eskey, Michael Long, Dennis Parker, Roger Olsen, and the reviewers and editors of this article for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. Any inadequacies are my own.

[2] I conducted my studies in the early 1980s and first presented the results nationally at the 1984 University of Southern California Partnerships in Research: Universities and Secondary Schools Symposium, cosponsored by CATESOL. My dissertation won second place in the 1984 NACBE/NABE international competition: Outstanding Dissertations in Bilingual Education.

[3] For a detailed discussion of these data collection procedures and findings, see Addison (1983).

[4] This is consistent with Wilga Rivers' view that repeated presentation should precede production practice. I amplify this by claiming that repeated and varied presentation enriches the input and increases the probability that the input will become comprehensible.

[5] SQ3R is a reading strategy used in high school classes. Its steps are: scan, question, read, recite, review.

Alice Addison directs a Title VII project as coordinator for second language, bilingual, and migrant education for the Santa Maria Joint Union High School District. She is a California Writing project fellow and instructor for University of California, Santa Barbara Extension. Past president of CATESOL, she presents sheltered English workshops for organizations, universities, and school districts nationally.

References

Addison, A. (1983). *A discourse analysis of secondary school science textbooks with a comparison of text features and reading comprehension for native and non-native English-speaking students.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Bernstein, L., Shachter, M., Winkler, A., & Wolfe, S. (1979) *Concepts and challenges in life science.* Fairfield, NJ: Cebco Standard Publishing Company.

California State Department of Education. (1984). *Individual learning programs for limited English proficient students—A handbook for school personnel.* Sacramento: OBE-SDE.

Cook, W. (1979). *Case grammar: Development of the matrix model (1970-1978).* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (p. 12). Sacramento: OBE, California State Department of Education.

Cummins, J. (1982). Tests, achievement, and bilingual students. *FOCUS, 9.* Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Flesch, R. (1948). A new readability yardstick. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 32*, 221-33.

Fry, E. (1968). A readability formula that saves time. *Journal of Reading, 2* (7), 513-516.

Hurd, P., & Mayfield, J. (1972). *Everyday problems in science.* Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Kintsch, W., & van Dijk, T. (1978). Toward a model of text comprehension and production. *Psychological Review, 85* (5), 363-394.

Krashen, S. (1981). Bilingual education and second language acquisition theory. In *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (p. 58). Sacramento: OBE, California State Department of Education.

Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practices in second language acquisition.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Lackstrom, J., Selinker, L., Trimble, L. (1975). Grammar and technical English. In A. Newton (Ed.), *The art of TESOL, part two* (pp. 250-260). Washington, D.C.: English Teaching Forum (With 1973 EST Rhetorical Process Chart).

Long, M. (1982). Native-speaker/non-native speaker conversation in the classroom. From manuscripts of the California State Department of Education presentations at the 1984 CATESOL State Conference, San Jose.

Long, M., & Sato, C. (1983). Classroom foreigner talk discourse: Forms and functions of teachers' questions. In H. Seliger, & M. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 268-285). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Long, M. (1985). Second language acquisition research and task-based language teaching. Paper presented at the California Association of Bilingual Education State Conference, Los Angeles.

Master, P. (1982). Grammar in EST. *CATESOL News*

Meyer, B. (1975). The organization of prose and its effects on memory. In T. van Dijk, & W. Hendricks (Eds.). *North Holland studies in theoretical poetics: Vol. 1.* Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.

Selinker, L., Trimble, R., & Trimble, L. (1975). On reading English for science and technology: Presuppositional rhetorical information in the discourse. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Teaching English for science and technology: Selected papers from the RELC seminar on the teaching and learning of English for scientific and technological purposes in SE Asia, April 21-25, 1975* (p. 56). Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Strevens, P. (1980). English for special purposes: An analysis and survey. In K. Croft (Ed.), *Readings in English as a second language* (pp. 458-472). Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishing Company.

Widdowson, H. G. (1978). *Teaching language as communication.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1979a). *Explorations in applied linguistics.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (Assoc. Ed.), (1979b). *Reading and thinking in English: Concepts in use, exploring functions, discovering discourse, discourse in action.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

The CATESOL Journal

ALICE GOSAK
San Jose City College

Demographic Trends and Student Progress in the San Jose City College ESL Program, 1982-1987

■ **In the past 10 years immigrant ESL students have become a growing presence on community college campuses throughout California. Because the need for ESL was at first regarded as temporary and because its growth has been so rapid, there has been little opportunity to assess the progress and prospects of students and programs. This study follows 1,000 students entering a credit ESL program over 10 semesters—from fall, 1982 to spring, 1987. It also examines the overall demographic trends of the program. Finally, it makes recommendations primarily to ensure equity in issues affecting ESL programs.**

Within the past 10 years, the ESL program at San Jose City College has grown dramatically. This growth is not surprising when the changing demographics of the state of California are considered. The Master Plan for Higher Education notes that the area of ESL is the single largest category with the largest enrollment of any segment of education in California (Joint Committee for Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education, 1987, p. 15). ESL was not even mentioned in the Master Plan of 1960, yet it is destined to play an important role in all segments of California education at least through the turn of the century.

The increase in ESL enrollment at San Jose City College and throughout the state has been so rapid that there has been little time to assess data in order to formulate decisions. This study is an attempt to examine the data on a random sample of 1,000 ESL students who enrolled at San Jose City College over a 5-year period from fall, 1982 to spring, 1987. The study is the first of its kind in this district and the state. It examines the characteristics of the students of the San Jose City College ESL program as to national/ethnic origins, linguistic backgrounds, length of time in the United States, and local high school attendance. It determines the rate at which ESL students receive AA degrees and transfer to four-year institutions. It also looks at the reasons why ESL students attend San Jose City College and the number of semesters they attend. Additionally, the study examines the age, gender, and district geographical distribution of the subjects but, in the interest of brevity, this information, has been left out of this report.

Method

Incoming ESL students fill out a student information profile at the time they take the ESL placement test. The questions on the profile have varied over the semesters for the purpose of simplification, but they have generally contained questions on national origin, language background, and length of time in the United States. Some semesters' profiles also contain information on years of education completed and high school attendance in the United States. Enough data on these categories exist to make some generalizations.

One hundred profiles of students who took the ESL placement test were randomly selected from each semester's group based on the fourth digit of their telephone numbers. As only 49% to 69% of each semester's group actually enrolled, it was necessary to complete the sample by continuing the process of random selection.

The profiles were examined for each category. Additionally, student records were obtained with the assistance of the Registrar. These records were examined to extract information about the students' careers at San Jose City College, data not available from the student information profile.

The most difficult aspect of tracking the students has been following them beyond San Jose City College. San Jose State University, through its Relations with Schools Office, supplied the names of all SJCC students in attendance and their grade point averages. Names, however, like their owners, become Americanized; so it was sometimes difficult to recognize the Jennifer of San Jose State's records as the Ngoc-Dung of the study. Fortunately, social security numbers could be used for verification.

The records of the University of California system are not as comprehensive as those of the CSU system. Through the President's Office of the University of California, it was possible to obtain only the number of SJCC students transferring to the University of California system as of fall, 1985 (a total of 5). Fortunately, by maintaining personal ties to students long after they left SJCC, I was able to list some of the individuals from the sample who transferred to the UC system and to institutions outside the state. Because of this reliance on personal contact, it is probable that the transfer of ESL students to four-year institutions is actually underestimated.

History of SJCC's ESL Program

From its modest start during the early 1970s, the San Jose City College ESL program swelled with the influx of Vietnamese boat people after 1978. In fall, 1984 when fees of up to $50 per semester were imposed, the ESL program became the largest in the two-college district, while enrollments in the other areas declined. From an almost exclusively Indochinese population in 1980, the program now serves students from 57 language backgrounds and 76 countries. The first census enrollment in fall, 1985 stood at 1995. Two years later (fall, 1987) it was 1990. In that semester, SJCC's ESL staff consisted of 7 full-time and 25 part-time teachers, reflecting an imbalance of part-time to full-time staff, an imbalance endemic in ESL programs. Classes are now offered mornings, afternoons, and evenings Monday through Thursday, mornings and afternoons on Friday, and on Saturday mornings. The classes are taught on campus and at two satellite locations.

The curriculum itself has undergone two changes, converting it from a model appropriate to adult education to one that concentrates on separate skills, a more appropriate curriculum for a credit program. Currently, 20 different classes at six levels through freshman English are offered. The English proficiency at each of the levels is as follows:

Level 0 (adult education referral): These learners have insufficient background in English to profit from instruction in the lowest of ESL classes at SJCC. These learners are referred to adult education centers in the community.

Level 1: Learners at this level are able to function in most survival situations. They are literate in the English alphabet and able to read simplified materials and to understand slow, simplified speech.

Level 2: Learners at this level have progressed beyond the survival stage and can read and converse about a limited range of topics.

Level 3: Low intermediate level learners are able to function in certain selected courses outside of the ESL program, such as mathematics. A shift in emphasis from listening/speaking to written skills begins at this level in the SJCC program.

Level 4: High intermediate learners are able to converse with increasing fluency. Emphasis on writing skills becomes heavier. The learner may enroll in vocational courses.

Level 5: Advanced learners are able to converse in fluent, if accented, English. Emphasis on writing increases as learners' final course essays are board graded with those of native English-speaking students. Learners are deemed ready for academic courses.

Level 6: The curriculum at this level continues to emphasize writing. Students are expected to write 8,000 words in the form of a documented research paper and essays. Board grading of final essays with those of native English speakers continues.

Program Trends

National/Ethnic Origin

Throughout this study, the largest group of students entering SJCC's ESL program has been from Vietnam. However, this number has decreased from 86% in fall, 1981 to 35% in fall, 1987.

The second largest group from fall, 1981 through spring, 1986 has been Chinese from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and various Asian nations in which Chinese have settled.

In fall, 1986 the total percentage of entering ESL students from all of Latin America (Mexico, Central and South America) exceeded the Chinese percentage and continued to do so through fall, 1987. However, in view of the size of the Spanish-speaking population in San Jose, this population is underrepresented in the college and among those receiving AA degrees and/or transferring to four-year institutions. Other underrepresented groups in this study include Filipinos and Portuguese.

The Korean and Chinese communities in San Jose appear to be growing while the number of Laotians has decreased by 90% due to out-migration.

Table 1

National/Ethnic Origin of Entering SJCC ESL Students, 1981-1987

	F81	F82	S83	F83	S84	F84	S85	F85	S86	F86	S87	F87
Vietnam	86%	65%	59%	46%	48%	54%	45%	50%	35%	48%	34%	35%
Mexico	5%	3	4	4	7	7	6	9	10	15	10	10
Africa	—	3	1	6	5	5	5	4	10	2	5	6
China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	—	4	4	7	8	8	5	8	14	6	7	6
SE Asia (minus Vietnam)	3%	7	17	13	13	7	13	8	3	5	9	8
Europe	—	3	—	2	1	—	1	—	3	3	1	—
Central Africa	1%	2	2	2	4	6	3	3	3	6	2	6
South America	—	2	4	2	2	2	5	2	6	2	5	4
Middle East	1%	2	—	7	4	6	5	3	4	4	7	7
South Asia	—	1	2	3	4	1	3	2	3	3	6	6
Korea	2%	5	3	6	2	4	8	5	4	—	7	6
U.S.	2%	—	3	1	—	—	—	1	2	3	2	2
Japan	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Philippines	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	4	3	3	5	4
Vietnamese Chinese	21%	18	10	6	7	17	14	15	4	11	8	8
Total Chinese	21%	23%	19%	17%	17%	27%	20%	27%	19%	17%	15%	16%
Total Latin Amer.	6%	7%	10%	7%	13%	15%	14%	14%	19%	23%	17%	21%
Total Asian	91%	84%	84%	73%	73%	74%	72%	76%	59%	62%	63%	59%

Although the number of Asians in this study has declined from 84% in fall, 1982, it has hovered around 60% since spring, 1986. Asians represent 73% of those in this study who received AA degrees and 58% of those in this study who transferred to four-year institutions.

Over 52% of the students entering SJCC's ESL program are refugees. At its peak in 1981, this group comprised 90% of the program's enrollment.

Students from 76 countries have studied in SJCC's ESL program. This diversity reflects changing realities in the world and promises continued enrollment and importance to the ESL program in the future.

Linguistic Background

Since fall, 1982 students entering SJCC's ESL program have come from 57 language backgrounds. For the purpose of this study, the major languages of the current ESL population are the most relevant. As of spring, 1987 over 80% of this group speaks one of the following languages: Vietnamese (27%); Spanish (19%); Chinese (16%); Persian, including Dari (11%); Korean (7%); and Cambodian (5%). Although the percentage of Korean and Cambodian speakers seems small, the level of English proficiency of these groups dictates a need for some first language assistance in getting through the maze of procedures to enroll in the college.

Length of Time in the United States

Length of residence in the United States was examined and five categories were established: 1 year or less; 1-2 years; 3-4 years; 5-9 years; 10+ years. To determine actual trends, however, it was more meaningful to combine certain categories.

In the earliest semesters of this study—through spring, 1983—the largest percentages of entering ESL students (79% and 75% respectively) resided in the United States for 2 years or less. Starting in spring, 1986 a new pattern began to emerge. Entering students who had resided in the United States 3 to more than 10 years consistently represented 54% of the sample. In fall, 1987 that group represented 63% of all new students.

This trend indicates that first time entrants in SJCC's ESL program have been in the United States longer than their counterparts entering the program before fall, 1985. One explanation of this trend is that these students may have taken adult education classes and then decided that a move to a community college was their next step. Because of the length of time they have spent in the United States, their comprehension and fluency may also be greater than that of earlier groups. The implications of this fact for placement testing and teaching are great. Testing methods will have to include an assessment of these skills through an oral interview and a reconsideration of the present testing instrument.

Since many of these individuals have undoubtedly taken adult education classes emphasizing life skills, the curriculum focus of SJCC's program should continue to explore and accommodate the range of their increasingly subtle and sophisticated language needs.

It should be noted that the shift in enrollment to those who have lived in the United States 3 or more years coincides with increased foreign language advertising by SJCC's ESL program.

Previous Educational Background of Entering SJCC ESL Students, 1981-1983.

Although data on previous educational background were not gathered for eight semesters of this study, earlier data show that an average of 55% of the students entering SJCC's ESL program finished 12 years of education abroad.

An average of 22% attended universities abroad—9% appear to have received degrees, while 2% did some graduate work. The figure on university attendance may be understated because of the mistaken belief on the part of some ESL students that access to the community college is denied university graduates.

There appears to be a marked relationship between previous educational background and success in SJCC's academically oriented ESL program.

Entering SJCC ESL Students Who Have Attended American High Schools

Since spring, 1986 questions about high school attendance in the United States have been added to the student information profile. A steady 17% of those taking the placement test in the fall have attended American high schools compared to a steady 11% who take the exam in the spring. A slightly higher percentage of high school attendees who are fall candidates for ESL classes place at lower levels of ESL classes than their spring semester counterparts.

Betweeen 76% and 89% of incoming ESL students who have attended 4 years of high school in the United States placed below ESL Level 5 (pre-Subject A). This figure is higher than the college's estimated 65% of American born, English-speaking students who place at this level.

A strong relationship seems to exist between school attendance, length of time in the United States and advanced ESL placement. Students who attend high school and then go to work before entering SJCC seem to have a higher level of English proficiency. Not enough data is available to support this hypothesis at the present time. However, it is apparent that ESL support will be needed for students who have attended American high schools for some time to come.

Interests of ESL Students Fall, 1982-Spring, 1987

Six patterns of study were established among the 1,000 subjects in this study: ESL only; ESL and general subjects; ESL and vocational subjects; ESL, general, and vocational subjects; no ESL, only vocational; no ESL, only general.

An average of 60% of the subjects have gone on to take courses other than ESL, pointing to the fact that the ESL population of the college does not exist in and of itself but serves as a feeder to other courses and programs in the college and the district.

A surprisingly low 28% take vocational courses at the college. The reason for this is that students may be taking vocational courses through other private institutions because the courses are accelerated and require less English proficiency.

It is felt that a significant number of Level 1-4 students would have benefitted by taking courses with a credit/no credit option as their remedial English counterparts do instead of taking courses for letter grades. With this option, students' self-esteem would be enhanced and they would undoubtedly persist in their studies at SJCC for a longer time. Use of the credit/no credit option would also banish any claims of unfairness and the possibility of legal action against the district.

Number of Semesters at SJCC

The average length of time spent at SJCC by the subjects in this study is 4 semesters. More than 18% persist for more than that number of semesters.

AA recipients spent 5+ semesters (2.7 years) before receiving their degrees while transfer students spent 6 semesters (3 years) at SJCC.

Table 2

AA Recipients and Transfer Students

Starting Semester	AA	Transfer	Still at SJCC as of fall, 1987
Fall, 1982	4%	5%	9%
Spring, 1983	1%	2%	9%
Fall, 1983	—	6%	12%
Spring, 1984	2%	5%	9%
Fall, 1984	2%	4%	24%
Spring, 1985	1%	2%	24%
Fall, 1985	—	—	25%
Spring, 1986	—	—	28%
Fall, 1986	—	--	43%
Spring, 1987	—	—	50%
Average through Spring, 1985	1.66%	4%	

AA Recipients and Transfer Students

Table 2 indicates the percentage of ESL students from this sample who received AA degrees and/or transferred to four-year institutions. Also included in the chart is the percentage of students from each semester's entering group who were still continuing their studies as of fall, 1987.

The average percentage of subjects from this study who receive AA degrees is 1.66%. The average percentage who transfer to four-year institutions is 4%. Data for the subjects in this study stops as of the spring, 1985 entering group so that final figures are not in for all groups. They continue to pursue their goals. Nine percent of the subjects from fall, 1982 and spring, 1983 were continuing at SJCC as of fall, 1987.

The transfer rate for ESL students in this study is probably higher than the transfer rate for their native English-speaking counterparts. Hard data on transfers from any of the local colleges is difficult to obtain. The most common practice is to use the statement of intent at the time of entrance to represent transfer rate.

Students from Ethiopia were over represented as 16% of the transfers in this study, a proportion exceeding their presence in the study. This fact may reflect the composition of SJCC's student population from that region. For the most part, they are under 35 years of age— still young enough to consider a university education— and were university bound students in their own countries who had their studies interrupted by civil disorder. Students from Vietnam and Latin America represented 33% and 4% of the transfer students in this study, proportions below their numbers in this sample. These under representations probably reflect the age span in these populations. In the case of the Vietnamese, the number of subjects with previous university degrees is reflected. The same factor operates for Latin Americans, coupled with a higher number of subjects at the lower end of the educational continuum.

The performance (measured by GPA) of subjects from this study at San Jose State University, where 45.8% of them have transferred, is on the whole above that of all SJCC transfers and all SJSU students.

Conclusions

The demographic trends in the San Jose City College ESL program have changed significantly in all of the areas considered in the 5-year period of this study. Prior to the completion of this study, some concern had been expressed that the decrease in Vietnamese enrollments in the college signaled the decline of SJCC's ESL program. To those experienced in international education, however, the diversification of a program's ESL population is viewed as a sign of health and a reflection of national and international realities. The ESL population at SJCC is bound to change as community trends and immigration patterns fluctuate.

Despite concerns about the program's vitality, the size of the program (and indeed ESL programs statewide) does not appear to be diminishing. In fall, 1985 the program had 1995 enrollments. Two years later, in fall, 1987 that number held constant at 1990. In spring, 1988 it rose to 2,065, a 3.5% increase. In these three semesters, in fact in all semesters for the previous 5 years, there have been waiting lists of students who could not be accommodated by the SJCC ESL classes, oversized as they are. The San Jose City College ESL program is not only here today. It promises to be here for many tomorrows to come.

The changes that are chronicled in this study illustrate the dynamic nature of ESL in California caused by the differing characteristics and needs of the learners. Such volatility needs constant monitoring; as learners' preparation and requirements change, programs and institutions must modify their approaches and practices to remain responsive to their communities.

One of the considerations should, perhaps, be the manner in which institutions judge their success, namely, through the number of their students who transfer to four-year institutions. It should be borne in mind that pursuing an AA degree and transferring to a four-year institution are only two of the reasons students select a community college. The colleges are vital to their communities in providing vocational training and skills improvement, including the acquisition of English for the growing foreign born population, as well as for the educational enrichment of the population as a whole.

The importance of this study increases and can be generalized to other colleges in the state when the information it contains is matched to practices within other areas of the institution. With that in mind, the following recommendations are made.

Recommendations

1. Examine your college's grading system. Are ESL students in beginning level classes graded on a credit/no credit or a letter grade basis? Are their options equal to those of their American born peers? What is the penalty for failing a course under either option? Are ESL students informed of their option to clear their status should they be put on probation or dismissed? Almost universally, the concept of second chance is unknown in the educational systems that ESL students have experienced.

2. Inform incoming ESL students of the full range of your college's vocational and academic offerings. Use multilingual brochures and information as necessary. Arrange presentations by counselors, vocational instructors, and students who have chosen specific majors or successfully transferred to four-year institutions to familiarize students with their options.

3. In the absence of multilingual staff to explain college procedures to incoming ESL students, make audiotapes or videotapes of orientation information available to incoming students in their own languages.

State the availabliity of these tapes in native language admissions procedures pamphlets.

4. Urge your administration to hire full-time certificated and/or classified personnel who speak the languages of your largest populations. Being able to give that individual's telephone number in foreign language advertising and knowing that new students will be dealt with courteously and effectively is extremely helpful to potential students and your college's staff.

5. Have instructors or trained aides in your program administer your placement test battery and spend time explaining your program to potential students. Enrollment in SJCC's ESL program decreased by 20% when ESL testing was turned over to the Testing Center. Whether it is the reassuring presence of actual teachers or ESL professionals' ability to speak "easy English," first contact is very important.

6. Make certain that your program is being supported with funds commensurate to those it earns for the college. Examine your budget for supplies on a per-student or per-enrollment basis. Compare the ratio of part-time to full-time faculty in your area with those in other areas of the college.

7. Conduct periodic needs assessments to see if your program is offering appropriate courses for your students at appropriate times and locations. A greater number of your students might profit more by advanced listening/speaking classes than essay writing. See that classes are offered at times that are convenient to the students' work schedules.

8. Be flexible in scheduling classes. As those who have worked in intensive ESL programs know, the exact turnout of students at each proficiency level cannot be predicted until the students appear and are tested. Community college schedules are usually made many months before the semester begins with a fixed number of classes at each level. If more beginning level students appear in a given semester than intermediate level students, provisions should be made to create additional sections of beginning level classes to balance the closed intermediate level classes as needed. This practice also calls for flexibility on the part of staff who must be prepared to teach where the need arises.

9. Serve on college committees and the faculty senate to make certain that the interests of ESL students and the ESL program are being served throughout the college. Being a good teacher is not enough. ■

Alice Gosak has taught ESL since 1964 in Ethiopia, Yugoslavia, Spain, Egypt and California. She has published in the United States and abroad and has served as CATESOL's community college level chair. Ms. Gosak received her MA TESL from UCLA in 1970 and has been at San Jose City College since 1980.

References

Joint Committee for Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education. (1987). *California community college reform.* Sacramento, CA.

The CATESOL Journal

KAREN L. FOX
California State University, Long Beach
TERRENCE G. WILEY
California State University, Long Beach

Postsecondary ESL Programs in California: A Profile[1]

■ This article reports the results of a survey of postsecondary English as a second language programs conducted in spring, 1985 under the auspices of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA), Region XII. Student demographics, preparation and compensation of faculty, staffing levels, placement testing procedures, number of levels and contact hours offered, and other programmatic data are compared for programs serving primarily nonimmigrant (visa) international students versus those serving permanent residents, refugees and other nonnative English speakers. Also discussed are administrative concerns such as academic credit, needs and priorities, program longevity, and budget control.

In recent years (particularly since 1975), with the influx of refugees and immigrants and the rise in language minority populations, ESL enrollment among nonvisa students in postsecondary programs has increased dramatically. These trends are expected to continue at least through the end of this century and will have a major impact on postsecondary education in California as the 1985 report by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) notes:

> Between 1950 and 1980, the total population of the United States grew by just under 50 percent, yet in the same period, the Hispanic population grew by 265 percent—making it without question the country's fastest growing minority. In the latter half of the 1970's the rate of immigration to this country of Asians was swelled by large numbers of refugees. The secondary effects of migrations from this influx will continue to be felt for years to come. Nowhere have the effects of these trends been more evident than in the state of California. Because race or ethnicity is an important variable affecting postsecondary participation, these trends will continue to affect postsecondary education on through the end of the century. (p. 117)

Logically, postsecondary English as a second language programs should be among the first areas impacted by these demographic changes. Originally designed to develop the language skills of nonimmigrant (visa) international students, how quickly and how well have these programs been able to adapt to their new audience? More specifically, what programs are available to address the language development needs of the immigrant, refugee, and language minority postsecondary ESL student and in what ways do these differ from programs serving the traditional ESL audience, international students? These questions motivated the present study.

At our own institution, the response to this demographic shift has been a split ESL program serving international students and permanent residents in separate classes. Many institutions have attempted to serve both populations in one program, despite differences in prior educational experience, socioeconomic status, level of acculturation, learning/acquisition opportunities, purpose and motivation for learning English and a host of other variables that we know affect the language learning process. Still other institutions have continued to serve only the international student population, making no distinction among in-state residents regardless of native language or English proficiency.

Complicating language pedagogy decisions is the issue of funding: ESL programs for international students can be a source of revenue from tuition and higher out-of-state fees; *remedial* funding is often linked to programs for established minorities and new funding sources are difficult to find in this era of tight budgets. Moreover, the remedial label can be a two-edged sword: While providing temporary funds and favorable staffing formulae, it can provide justification for loss of academic credit which may result in a switch to continuing or extended education or support service status.

In setting up the study, we wanted to know:

1. Who is being served and where?
2. What population, if any, is being underserved?
3. How similar are progams which serve domestic and international ESL students?
4. What institutional attachments do such programs have?
5. What resources support these programs and are the resources adequate?
6. What needs and priorities do program administrators report?

What we found, while not entirely unexpected, confirmed that crucial differences do exist between ESL instruction and services available to immigrant and to nonimmigrant students in postsecondary programs in Region XII, differences which may well be reflected in other areas of the nation and at other educational levels.

Method

The data for this study were supplied by a survey of postsecondary ESL programs in California. The survey instrument was developed by the New Americans Committee of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) to gather current data about the nature of the ESL population and the programs serving them in

Table 1
Summary of Findings: Student Population

Abbreviations:
PR = permanent resident program (over 30% of students are PR)
INTL = international student program
N = number of programs reporting
R = range
M = mode

a. What percentage of your student population are permanent residents of the United States:

Aggregate (N = 57)	PR (N = 26)	INTL (N = 31)
40%	67%	10%

b. What percentage of your student population would you classify as refugee?

Aggregate (N = 57)	PR (N = 26)	INTL (N = 31)
11%	21%	3%

c. What are the approximate percentages by age group in your student population?

Age	Aggregate	PR	INTL
18-22	46%	31%	56%
23-30	33%	34%	32%
31-40	14%	23%	9%
over 40	7%	12%	3%

d. What is the approximate balance between male and female students in your program?

	Aggregate	PR	INTL
male	52%	51%	59%
female	48%	49%	41%

e. What are the approximate percentages of the following ethnic/nationality groups within your program?

Major groups all programs

Armenian	0.1%	Iranian	3.8%
Cambodian	0.5%	Japanese	10.6%
Chinese	11.6%	Korean	8.9%
E. European	1.9%	Samoan	0.3%
Filipino	2.1%	Thai	3.3%
Latino	14.5%	Vietnamese	6.2%
Indonesian	4.2%		

Major groups

PR	INTL
Latino	Chinese
Vietnamese	Japanese
Chinese	Latino
Korean	Arab
Filipino	Indonesian
Japanese	Iranian
Iranian	

h. What approximate percentage of your students are currently employed?

	Aggregate	PR	INTL
full-time	23% (N = 40)	35%	17%
part-time	27% (N = 45)	32%	18%

NAFSA's Region XII. The instrument was modeled after several earlier studies, most notably on a 1983 cross program evaluation of major intensive English programs reported on by C. Grosse and D. Lubell at the 18th Annual TESOL Convention in Houston and a massive study of the California community college ESL programs conducted by D. Mills in 1984. The survey instrument was a four-page questionnaire which used both open and closed questions. Closed questions involving quantifiable data were tallied and averaged. Open-ended short answer questions were classified according to the similarity and frequency of response and then summarized.

Surveys were sent nonrandomly to 281 postsecondary ESL programs located in the target region and listed in the NAFSA directory; of these, 57 provided usable responses. Despite the low rate of return (approximately 20%), the sample includes a representataive cross section of large and small, public and private, affiliated and independent programs covering most of the geographic region surveyed.

For the purposes of this study, programs surveyed were divided into two categories: Those serving at least 30% permanently resettled ESL students (immigrants, refugees, and other language minorities) were operationally labeled PR (permanent resident) (N = 26); programs serving predominantly nonimmigrant (visa-bearing) international students were labeled INTL (N = 31).

McGroarty (1985) points out that surveys provide a useful, if approximate, guide to concerns of a group, and the concerns and perceptions of the ESL service providers, while possibly not hard data, are nonetheless crucial to the quality of the service delivered.

Although the quality of program performance cannot be directly assessed by an essentially quantitative study, quantity in terms of contact hours, staff positions, salaries, full-time faculty, and the like can provide a valuable indication of the services provided and points of comparison across programs.

[See Table 1]

Discussion: Student Population

Of the programs surveyed, 40% of the students in postsecondary programs are permanent residents. Although comparison figures are not available, this probably represents a major increase over 10 years ago. In the PR programs, the students are nearly equally divided between males and females, whereas among the INTL programs, the balance is roughly 60% to 40% (males over females).

Regarding ethnic representation, there appears to be cause for concern in the low representation of Latinos and Southeast Asians. The goal of equal opportunity in education is a balanced representation among ethnic groups at all levels. However, when data of ethnic populations enrolled in ESL adult basic education programs are compared with enrollment data in postsecondary ESL programs, there are major discrepancies for Latinos and Southeast Asians.

Table 2
Selected Student Populations Compared: Adult ABE ESL Versus Postsecondary

	Adult ed ESL enrollments (1982-83)	Postsecondary ESL enrollments (1985)
Latino	46.0%	14.5%
Chinese	16.6%	11.6%
Vietnamese	13.5%	6.2%
Lao	5.9%	0.0%
Cambodian	3.2%	0.5%
Korean	2.5%	8.9%
Japanese	1.8%	10.6%

Note: These findings must be considered tenuous since the postsecondary data are based upon estimates.

Adult Basic Education Survey (1982-83)
Note: These data are from *VELEP (Vocational Education for the Limited English Proficient): Pattern and Prospects*, by D. Hemphill, S. Mao, T. Lee, A. Yee, & S. Chabot, 1985. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Resources Development Center. Adapted by permission.

Given the numbers in Table 2, it would seem that more support is needed to bridge the gap from adult basic education programs to postsecondary education for these populations.

Table 3
Summary of Findings: Program Information

	PR	INTL
a. How many levels of ESL do you offer?	4.2 (M = 3)	4.2 (M = 3)
b. Do you offer college/transfer credit?	yes = 60%	yes = 26%
c. How many levels prior to freshman composition do you offer?	4.6 (M = 3)	4.1 (M = 3)
d. What kind of placement instrument do you use?		
Standardized/commercial	64%	80%
Component of test(s):		
Grammar	76%	96%
Writing sample	64%	90%
Reading	52%	83%
Listening comprehension	44%	66%
Interview (individual)	32%	40%
Cloze dictation	8%	10%
How long does it take to administer the test(s)?:		
less than 1 hour	24%	6%
1-2 hours	64%	70%
3-5 hours	8%	23%
e. How many weeks are in one session/term?	13.9 (m = 18)	11.3 (M = 10)
f. What is the average enrollment per term?	400 (R = 15-1800)	68 (R = 15-185)

g. What is the average number of students per class?	20.6 (M = 20)	12.8 (M = 15)
h. How many class hours per week do you offer?		
At introductory level	6.9 (M = 6)	21.8 (M = 25)
At intermediate level	7.5 (No mode)	20.4 (M = 25)
At advanced level	7.1 (M = 3)	18.4 (M = 20)
i. Do you offer weekend/evening sessions?	yes = 80%	yes = 68%
j. Do you provide special contracts or short courses?	yes = 32%	yes = 68%
k. What is the relationship of your program to your department?		
ESL department	40%	33%
Extension/continuing ed	4%	30%
English/linguistics department	28%	6%
Modern language department	0	6%
Study skills laboratory	4%	0
Also: language arts division, developmental studies, communications department, liberal arts area, School of Professional and Behavioral Studies, student services division, and so forth.		
l. How many years has your program existed?	15.2 (M = 10) (R = 3-50)	9.6 (M = 3) (R = 2-40)
m. Which of the following staff positions does your program have?		
Director/department head	60%	93%
Assistant/associate director	8%	26%
Curriculum/academic coordinator	4%	50%
Activities coordinator	0	26%
Level/skills coordinator	8%	10%
Testing coordinator	20%	16%
Laboratory specialist	12%	6%
Counselor/advisor	24%	33%
Immigration technician	8%	46%
Clerical staff	36%	73%
Full-time contract faculty	92%	90%
Teaching assistants	40%	16%
n. What academic preparation do your instructors have?		
Bachelor's	32%	30%
Master's	88%	96%
Doctorate	32%	36%
Certificate	12%	6%
Average number of years in teaching	10.2 (R = 5-20)	8.0 (R = 3-15)
Average number of years in ESL	8.6	6.8
Other staff requirements:		
Curriculum development	52%	66%
Materials development	44%	63%
Committee assignments	40%	36%
Placement/level tests	36%	66%
Student advising	28%	43%
Registration/orientation	32%	40%
Publication/research	0	10%
Knowledge of foreign language	44%	33%
Experience abroad	24%	36%
o. What are the sources of your funding?		
Tuition	n = 4	n = 26
General fund	n = 19	n = 4

Government/private grants	n=6	n=3
p. Who oversees your budget?		
In-house fiscal officer	12%	10%
Director/department chair	24%	30%
Dean	28%	16%
Vice-president	4%	3%
Institution budget office	8%	3%
Combination of above	36%	33%
q. Approximate salary range for full-time faculty	$28,400 (R=17-42K)	$20,217 (R=12-38K)
r. Approximate salary range for part-time faculty	$22/hr (R=$12-35)	$21/hr (R=$7.50-36)

Discussion

Both PR and INTL programs offer an average of 4.2 levels of instruction, with 3 (presumably beginning, intermediate, and advanced) being the mode. Sixty percent of PR programs offer baccalaureate or transfer credit, while only 26% of INTL programs do, possibly indicative of the origins of PR programs within degree-granting academic institutions.[2] Also in the area of term length, PR programs reflect this closer relationship with the parent institution, having a modal term length of 18 weeks (a typical academic semester) rather than the 10 weeks of the INTL programs. Indeed, class size and contact hours of PR programs appear to reflect staffing formulae for regular academic programs: PR class sizes average 20.6 while INTL class sizes average 12.8. Even more crucially, perhaps, the average contact hours offered by INTL programs are nearly triple the contact hours provided by PR programs (see Table 1); three PR programs mentioned increased contact hours at lower levels as among the program's most pressing needs, indicating the administrators' awareness that ESL programs require different staffing formulae than other kinds of academic programs.

Size of the programs also differs significantly, with PR programs averaging 400 students per term (with a range of 15 to 1800) compared to an average of 67.9 students per term in INTL programs (with a range of 15 to 185). Program size is thus a major concern for both types of programs, but in different directions. INTL program administrators repeatedly cite recruitment and growth as among their highest priorities, since larger programs enjoy both greater resources and, presumably, greater political clout with the administration of the parent or host institution, while PR program administrators cite the need for a floor on the English proficiency of the students they are required to serve as one means of making their programs more manageable.

The majority of both kinds of program (64% of PR and 80% of INTL) use standardized, commercially produced placement tests. By far the most prevalent is the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP), frequently in combination with supplements developed in-house such as writing samples and interviews.[3] The most common test components include grammar (96% of INTL, 76% of

PR programs), writing (90% of INTL and 64% of PR programs), reading (83% of INTL and 52% of PR programs), and listening comprehension (66% of INTL and 44% of PR programs). INTL programs appear to spend more time testing incoming students (see Table 3); some PR programs report using no test or interview only, or tests designed for native speakers (Nelson-Denny or the CSU English Placement Test).

Both kinds of programs include all academic English skills in their curricula, with special emphasis on writing. INTL programs also mentioned TOEFL preparation and cultural adjustment while PR programs mentioned survival skills—basic oral proficiency and literacy. The electives offered by both kinds of programs were also similar, though INTL programs appeared to stress ESP, particularly English for business and for computer science, while PR programs stressed advanced level skills and areas such as idioms, VESL, and accent reduction. Frequently mentioned electives include typing, notetaking, and other study skills, literature and current events classes, language laboratory, and vocabulary development. PR programs are almost five times as likely to offer weekend or evening sections than are INTL programs, but these programs tend to parallel the daytime offerings, albeit on a more limited basis. INTL program evening and weekend courses tend to be targeted to specific audiences: industry or special groups who meet on site in contract arrangements.

Staffing

Staffing is, of course, crucial to the range and, less obviously, to the depth of services offered. Programs serving INTL students report considerably more staff positions and more differentiated staffing than do programs serving immigrant students. For example, 93% of the INTL programs have a director (73% full-time) while only 60% of the PR programs have a similar position (40% full-time). Half the INTL programs have a staff position for handling curriculum or academic coordination. About a quarter report having an assistant or associate director, whereas exceedingly few PR programs (4% and 8% respectively) have such positions. Thus, INTL programs may have an administrative group to handle planning, curriculum development, and other long-range needs, an advantage not available to PR programs. Also, more than twice as many INTL programs indicated clerical staff positions (73% versus 36% for PR programs), although some of the services for PR programs, particularly clerical, student counseling, and immigration advising may be handled by personnel shared with the parent institution.

Instructional faculty in both kinds of programs are likely to have a Master's degree and to have entered ESL from other fields, almost all reporting a greater number of years teaching experience than years in the field of ESL. However, faculty in PR programs are slightly more experienced than those in INTL programs, having an average of over 10 years' experience in teaching, over 8½ in ESL, versus 8 and 6 years for teachers in INTL programs. Differentials in salary (see below) may be the reason behind this slight disparity in experience.

As far as noninstructional duties are concerned, both kinds of programs require curriculum and materials development as the most prevalent nonteaching activities; but INTL programs require placement testing, registration, and orientation duties while PR programs require committee assignments even more frequently than testing, reflecting perhaps the duties of non-ESL faculty in the parent institution.

An unexpectedly large differential in full-time faculty salaries was revealed by the survey data: The average academic year salary for full-time faculty in PR programs is $28,400 (with a range of $17,000 to $42,000) while full-time faculty in INTL programs receive an average of $20,217 (with a range of $12,000 to $38,000) per academic year.[4] Part-time hourly salaries ($22/hour in PR programs, $21/hour in INTL programs) are nearly the same, as is the general lack of benefits for part-time instructors: Only 14% of the PR programs and 17% of the INTL programs offer benefits to part-time faculty,[5] and reported benefits include course tuition, parking, and professional development programs, sometimes in lieu of health plans, sick leave, and other more traditional benefits. Most startling was the heavy reliance on the presumably more economical part-time faculty in PR programs, where the aggregate reported ratio in 26 programs was 43 full-time to 257 part-time faculty. Several programs reported relying almost exclusively on part-time faculty, with a single full-time faculty member performing all the testing, placement, curriculum development, budgeting, and other administrative functions in addition to teaching.

Administration

Underlying the staffing conditions are the key administrative concerns of relationship to the parent or host institution and control of the budget. An interesting and rather disturbing survey finding was that ESL programs have yet to find an academic home: While the greatest number (40%) of PR programs constituted ESL departments and the majority of INTL programs (30%) were housed in continuing or extended education divisions, there is no general consensus as to the point of attachment to the parent institution. Crucially, many programs reported attachment to larger units—language arts division, division of humanities, School of Professional and Behavioral Studies, liberal arts area, student services division, and developmental studies, to name but a few. This appears to have two results: greater autonomy for the program but budget decisions made at a level far removed from the day-to-day operations of the program.

With the exception of the 23% of INTL programs which are independent of a parent or host institution, the budget control in most programs (36% of PR and 33% of INTL programs) is shared between levels, most frequently the director or chair and the division administrator (dean or vice-president or institutional budget officer). Less

84

than a third (30%) of the INTL programs and a quarter (24%) of the PR programs reported that the director or department chair alone controls the program budget.

Despite the seeming lack of institutional commitment to ESL programs suggested by the diverse points of attachment and reliance on part-time faculty, another unexpected finding from the survey data is the longevity of ESL programs: PR progams average over 15 years in existence (with a mode of 10 years) while INTL programs average over 9 years (with a mode of 3 years). ESL programs thus are not stop-gap temporary responses to immediate demographic shifts, as staffing and funding patterns imply, but rather ongoing support programs serving the needs of an important segment of the postsecondary education audience.

Needs and Priorities

The open-ended responses to the question, "What do you see as the most pressing needs of your program?" revealed an underlying concern of both kinds of programs with what might best be described as their peripheral status. Comments focused on improving salary and benefits for faculty and, for PR programs, increasing the number of full-time permanent faculty positions, while INTL program administrators mentioned released time and recognition for extra duties. Other comments mirroring this concern dealt with better coordination with other departments and increased contact hours and classroom space for PR programs and, for INTL programs, more commitment to ESL by the host university, increased office space, and better understanding of ESL students by regular university faculty. Numbers were also a concern: PR programs spoke of better identification of ESL students enrolled in the college or university, and, as mentioned above, a proficiency floor for entrance into the college or university. INTL programs mentioned more stable enrollments for greater resources and more clout. Other concerns focused on the students, with both kinds of programs reporting the need for better counseling and better services, particularly to facilitate entrance into or success in college or the university.

Naturally enough, the future program priorities reflected the needs outlined above. Priorities for PR programs, according to the survey data, included more short-term intensive courses covering skills left untaught under present curricula and more levels, contact hours, and standardization within the program. INTL programs reflected similar needs, mentioning better coordination of levels and a more diversified curriculum with special needs courses. PR programs also specified more full-time faculty; recognitiion of ESL as developmental; academic credit for ESL; better coordination with freshmen writing programs, other departments, and state agencies; and better tracking of and data gathering about ESL students. INTL programs mentioned, in addition to full-time faculty positions, better salaries and benefits as well as staff development and also recruitment/outreach into new markets.

Once again, the priorities appear to reflect the feeling of ESL program administrators of both types of programs that their existence is tenuous, dependent as it is on either unstable soft funding from tuition or external political perceptions of the needs of the students they are currently serving. Clearly interrelated issues are the status of faculty and improved relations and coordination with the host or parent institution.

Conclusions

What is not evident from our data, but is strongly implied by the responses received, is the extent to which the academic progress of immigrant, refugee, and language minority students is hampered by inadequate language skills and the sometimes inadequate resources devoted to developing these skills. A contributing problem, mentioned by several program administrators at public institutions, is the difficulty of identifying this domestic ESL population which is admitted to a college or university under the same regulations and procedures as citizens and are thus not readily flagged as needing special services.

Even where these students are carefully identified, the problem of funding an adequately staffed, adequately extensive ESL support program remains. Whereas ESL programs for international students are frequently self-supporting and even revenue producing through separate tuition or higher out-of-state fees, ESL programs for immigrants, refugees, and language minority students represent a net drain on the economy of the institution, as attempts to house these programs in units supported by ancillary funds (e.g., extended or continuing education, student services, and study skills laboratories) indicate.

At the root of these issues, as stated spontaneously by several survey respondents, is a problem of perception: From non-ESL faculty to administrators, budget managers and legislators ESL programs for permanent residents are viewed as temporary, remedial, and nonacademically credible—a stop-gap response to an immediate situation. Given the surprising longevity of ESL programs documented by this study and indicated by the future demographic projections outlined above, a complete rethinking of the position and status of ESL in postsecondary education is long overdue. ■

---

[1] This article is based on a paper presented at the Los Angeles Regional CATESOL Conference at California State University, Northridge, November 2, 1985. A portion of the data was also presented at the Region I and XII Joint Conference of the National Association for Foreign Students Affairs in Honolulu, Hawaii, November 27, 1985. We would like to thank Stephen B. Ross of California State University, Long Beach for his comments and suggestions on a previous draft of this paper.

[2] Compared with the 46% of intensive English programs offering credit in the Grosse-Lubell (1984) study.

[3] This finding is confirmed by a small informal study conducted by George Wilcox at TESOL '85 and reported in the *HEIS Newsletter* (1986, January).

[4] These figures are in line with the Wilcox (1986) data, cited above, in which $20,890 appears as the mean "reasonable average salary for someone teaching full-time for an academic year in a TESOL in higher education situation."

[5] These figures compare to the 29% of major intensive English programs reporting that part-time faculty were accorded benefits in the 1984 Grosse-Lubell study cited above.

Terrence Wiley is codirector of the language and content enrichment project at California State University, Long Beach, where he teaches in the linguistics and American language programs. He received his PhD from the University of Southern California and specializes in educational and applied linguistics. He is coauthor of two ESL textbooks.

Karen Fox earned a Master's in linguistics/education from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She directs the American Language Institute at California State University, Long Beach.

References

California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1985, March). *Background papers to a prospectus for California postsecondary education: 1985-2000.* Commission Report 85-14. Department of Education: Sacramento, CA.

Grosse, C., & Lubell, D. (1984). *A cross program evaluation of major intensive English programs.* Paper presented at the 18th Annual TESOL Conference, Houston, TX.

Hafernik, J., & Burgamy, R. M. (1985, September). *Survey of institutions that grant academic credit for ESL.* Unpublished manuscript.

Hemphill, D., Mao, S., Lee, T., Yee, A., & Chabot, S. (1985). *VELEP (Vocational Education for the Limited English Proficient): Pattern and Prospects.* San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Resources Development Center.

Jacobs, H. L. (1984). *Survey on some budget matters in ESL programs.* Unpublished manuscript.

McGroarty, M. (1985). Teaching priorities in secondary ESL and EFL instruction. *CATESOL Occasional Papers, 11.*

Mills, D. (1984). Unpublished materials.

Wilcox, G. (1986, January). Survey of ESL programs. *Higher Education Interest Section Newsletter, 5*, p. 2.

The CATESOL Journal

PHILIP HUBBARD
Stanford University
DONNA HIX
Ohio University

Where Vocabulary Meets Grammar: Verb Subcategorization Errors In ESL Writers[1]

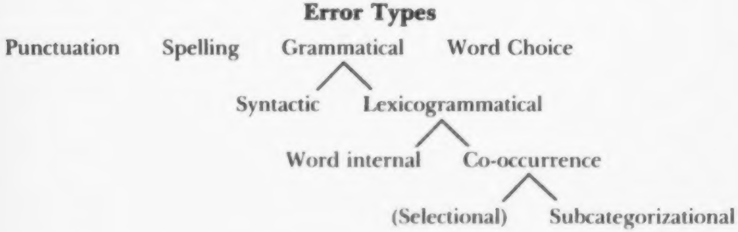
■ Learners of English as a second language at intermediate and advanced stages have often mastered the majority of the major syntactic constructions in English. Yet, many grammatical errors persist in their writing. A high percentage of these errors, though labeled *grammatical*, do not in fact represent problems with pure syntax but rather mistakes in using given lexical items in constructions they do not belong in. By utilizing concepts from modern transformational-generative theories, the authors trace such errors to incorrect or incomplete lexical subcategorization. The nature of these errors is discussed from both a theoretical and pragmatic perspective, and the major classes of subcategorization errors for English verbs are identified. The article argues that ESL teachers, particularly writing teachers of students beyond the beginner's level, need to be aware of the source of these errors so that they can distinguish them from other types of grammatical errors and more effectively help their students to overcome them.

Lexical subcategorization is a significant aspect of modern linguistic theory which has received surprisingly little attention in discussions of ESL student errors. In fact, errors resulting from incorrect or incomplete subcategorization are generally just labeled *grammatical*, even though writing teachers are usually able to recognize them as being somehow different from many other types of grammatical errors, such as those involving word order, number agreement, lack of an article with a countable singular noun, and so forth. We feel that there is some value in writing teachers being conscious of the nature of these errors in lexical subcategorization and the important ways in which they differ from others labeled as grammatical. We begin by discussing these differences and then give a description of 14 major types of lexical subcategorization errors for English verbs with an example of each type. Verbs form the nucleus of sentences and it is with verbs that the widest variety of subcategorization errors occur. Later sections suggest ways of recognizing and dealing with such errors in intermediate and advanced ESL writing. We focus on this group of learners because we believe that although the type of error analysis we propose is applicable in many cases to lower levels and to oral production at all levels, it is at intermediate and advanced levels of writing that any teacher correction of this type of error is most likely to be successful.

There are a number of different sentence-level error types that ESL writing teachers are confronted with at all levels. These are typically categorized as errors in spelling, punctuation, word choice, and grammar. The last of these categories, grammatical errors, is rather vaguely and inconsistently defined in the field; errors that don't fit into the other categories are often assigned to it.

There are some major distinctions within this general category of grammatical errors, however, that can significantly affect the way the teacher reacts to the errors and leads the student toward their correction. At the most basic level, there is the distinction between purely syntactic errors involving rules of word order and inflection that are governed by the grammatical categories of words or phrases and errors that involve idiosyncracies of particular words or classes of words within a category. We refer to this second group as *lexicogrammatical* errors because they crucially involve some sort of lexical misinformation that leads to an ungrammatical sentence (for our purposes *ungrammatical* is operationally defined as being recognized by native speakers to have been produced by a nonnative speaker due to some factor other than word choice). Within the category of lexicogrammatical errors itself there are similarly two major divisions: errors internal to a word and errors in co-occurrence with other words. Finally, within the category of co-occurrence errors there are errors that are predominantly semantic in nature (labeled as *violations of selectional restrictions* in the standard theory of transformational grammar [Chomsky, 1965] and those which are seen as more syntactic in nature (labeled as *subcategorization errors* in the standard theory). Because of the semantic nature of the former we assume, as most syntacticians currently seem to, that they are better classified as purely lexical errors or errors in word choice.

Figure 1 shows the error types discussed so far and their relationship in a classificational hierarchy.



The following examples of errors in the hierarchy should help make the differences clearer.

Syntactic errors

a. I saw a cat black yesterday.
(order of adjective and noun reversed)

b. The clock that I bought it last week is already broken.
(extra pronoun in relative clause)

Lexicogrammatical errors

a. Word internal
I writed a good composition.
(irregular verb)

b. Co-occurrence

1. Sectional
A dog roared at me as I entered the yard.
(word choice: *roar* for *bark*)

2. Subcategorizational
I enjoy to run in the rain.
(wrong form of complement)

In the earlier stages of language learning, many of the errors in all of the above categories are viewed as either developmental errors or errors occurring from the students' attempt to overreach their linguistic competence in the target language. Consequently, many teachers at this level are justifiably selective about which errors they point out to the student, particularly in speaking situations. At more advanced levels, though, and especially in writing classes, there is often a concern on the part of the teacher that errors which were overlooked in earlier stages may become a more or less permanent feature of the student's English unless they are systematically dealt with. At this point, recognizing the nature of their error is vital. Since writing is in many cases an activity that can be monitored, or consciously attended to (in the sense of Krashen's [1982] monitor theory of language learning versus acquisition), the teacher's classification of the error potentially becomes quite significant in leading the student to overcoming it. Specifically, if an error is predominantly syntactic in nature it can be dealt with by referring in some way to appropriately formulated syntactic rules, such as those for adjective-plus-noun word order and the structure of relative clauses. If the error is lexicogrammatical, on the other hand, then idiosyncratic information about individual words must be brought to the student's attention.

Linguistic Theory and Subcategorization.

In the earliest versions of transformational grammar (Chomsky, 1957), grammaticality was based solely on whether or not a sentence could be generated by some combination of phrase structure and transformational rules. Both of these rule systems referred exclusively to expansions or manipulations of syntactic categories (e.g., noun, verb, verb phrase), allowing the generation of such obviously unacceptable sentences as *Fred put the napkin* and *The napkin was put by Fred.* By the time the aspects model, which was to become the standard theory, was introduced (Chomsky, 1965), the need for referencing in lexical insertion not only the category of the word itself but also the categories of its surrounding constituents had been recognized. This subcategorization frame, as it was called, became a part of the lexical entry for words. In the case of verbs, it allowed the specifications of what categories could follow them. For example, the frame [NP] was specified for transitive verbs while intransitive verbs were given the frame [ ] with no following object NP.

The past 20 years have seen some dramatic changes in the theories that have evolved from transformational grammar, changes which many ESL teachers trained in the standard theory are unaware of. Of greatest relevance here is the fact that the transformational component has been steadily weakened while the power of the lexicon has been expanded to deal in a principled manner with the distinction between truly general rules and lexical idiosyncracies. In the process, most transformations have fallen by the wayside: Some current versions of Chomsky's revised extended standard theory (also known as government and binding theory) hypothesize only a single transformation—*move alpha*, or *move anything anywhere*—constrained of course by a number of universal and language specific conditions (Chomsky, 1982; see Radford, 1981 for a less formal introduction to the theory). As a result, the output of many of the classic transformations, such as passive and indirect object movement is now generated more or less directly by the phrase structure rules, and those formerly transformational relationships, such as active-passive, are now accounted for primarily in the lexicon.

Common Types of Lexical Subcategorization Errors With Verbs.

Because of their central importance, the discussion of lexical subcategorization errors below focuses on verbs. It is important to realize, however, that other major categories (noun, adjective, adverb) can be subcategorized as well.

We assume for the moment that whatever the ultimate cause of the error (interference, over generalization, etc.), the immediate cause is the lack of an appropriately specified subcategorization frame for the verb. The list that follows includes most of the common lexical subcategorization errors for verbs. In each case, we first give a correct sentence utilizing the grammatical construction to make it clear that the error is lexical in nature. Asterisks mark the ungrammatical sentences.

1. *Transitives used as intransitives.* Some verbs which semantically imply an object can occur with the object unspecified; others cannot.

a. *I ate the sandwich in the kitchen./I ate in the kitchen.*

b. *I put the sandwich in the kitchen./*I put in the kitchen.*

2. *Intransitives used as transitives.* Some intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts, often with the meaning *cause to* x, where *x* is the intransitive verb; others do not.

a. *The water boiled./The woman boiled the water* (the woman caused the water to boil).

b. *The baby cried./*The woman cried the baby (the woman caused the baby to cry).*

3. *Incorrect passive of transitive verb.* Nonlinking verbs which are followed by noun phrases in the active voice are usually classified as transitive and can appear in the passive construction; some verbs, especially certain stative ones, cannot.

a. *John earned $100./$100 was earned by John.*

b. *This book cost $100./*$100 was cost by this book.*

4. *Stative verbs in the progressive.* While verbs can generally be used in progressive constructions, most semantically stative verbs are ungrammatical in such constructions.

a. *I am learning French.*

b. **I am knowing French.*

5. *Fixed particle moved.* The particle in verb-particle combinations, most of which are to some degree idiomatic, can usually be moved after the object. However, certain verb-particle combinations do not allow this option.

a. *Fred ran off the cat./Fred ran the cat off.*

b. *Fred ran into an old friend./*Fred ran an old friend into.*

6. *Dative movement errors.* Dative, or indirect object, movement, where the indirect object moves to direct object position and the preposition *to* or *for* is dropped, is allowed with many verbs that take indirect objects but not all of them.

a. *Tom told the story to everyone./Tom told everyone the story.*

b. *Tom explained the problem to everyone./*Tom explained everyone the problem.*

7. *Intrusive* be. The passive auxiliary *be* is sometimes inserted into nonpassive sentences. Though treated as a general grammar error in Burt and Kiparsky (1972) and Richards (1973), it was argued in Hubbard (1983) that while such errors may be essentially syntactic with lower level students, the great majority of these errors occur with a restricted set of intransitive verbs in advanced writers, specifically those

verbs taking nonagentive subjects. In many languages, these intransitives pattern differently from intransitives with agentive subjects and may even take the same morphology as the passive contruction. Even in English, there are a few verbs that appear in a passive-like construction which cannot take an agentive *by*-phrase in certain contexts.

a. *The theater is located/situated (*by Fred) on Elm Street.*
b. **The strange event was occurred last May./*The problem is exist today in many countries.*

8. *Gerund complement for infinitive.* One of the most common subcategorization errors involves using the wrong complement form after a verb. (Items [9] through [11] also involve complement errors, and there are other types besides these.) In this particular case, a gerund complement is used where the verb requires an infinitive.

a. *I enjoy seeing you.*

b. **I expect seeing you tomorrow.*

9. *Infinitive for gerund.* This is the reverse of (8); here an infinitive complement occurs when a gerund is called for.

a. *I like to eat fish.*

b. **I enjoy to eat fish.*

10. *Infinitive marker on naked infinitives.* Most verbs that take infinitive complements take the *to*-infinitive; however, a small class of causatives and verbs of perception take the infinitive with no marker, the so-called naked infinitive. Because of the higher frequency of the *to*-infinitive, this error is one of the more common.

a. *I told Fred to revise the paper.*

b. *I make/let/had/saw Fred revise the paper./*I made/let/had/saw Fred to revise the paper.*

11. *Tensed that-complement for untensed.* Most verbs which take *that*-complements occur with a tensed verb; however, a few do not. This same pattern holds for certain adjective and noun complements as well.

a. *I know that he is here every day at noon.*

b. *I request/require/demand that he be here every day at noon./*I request/require/demand that he is here every day at noon.*

12. *Preposition missing.* A number of verbs in English require a particular preposition or set of prepositions to convey a particular meaning (or in some cases to be grammatical at all). It is possible to analyze errors involving the absence of the prepositions in such cases as subcategorization errors, since they involve placing a verb in a sentence frame containing a missing required category (the preposition). In

most cases the result is a verb-plus-noun phrase in place of the expected verb plus prepositional phrase.

a. *You can rely on Tom./*You can rely Tom.*

b. *I listened to the music./I heard the music./*I listened the music.*

13. *Preposition added.* In some cases students add a preposition to a verb that is subcategorized to occur without one.

a. *I watched the boys play./*I watched at the boys play.*

b. *I congratulated my friend./*I congratulated to my friend.*

14. *Incorrect preposition.* Given the idiosyncracies of the English prepositional system, one of the more common errors is producing a sentence containing a verb co-occurring with the wrong preposition. Strictly speaking, this is not a subcategorization error since the proper category (preposition or prepositional phrase) is present. Because prepositions belong to a closed set, however, and sometimes indicate primarily grammatical relationships (for example, the passive *by* and the indirect object marker *to*), they are often classified as function words rather than content words and as such particular ones could legitimately be specified in a subcategorization frame. We assume, for the sake of simplicity, that preposition errors of this type involve subcategorization, bearing in mind that in many cases they could also be analyzed as a collocational word choice error or an error within a given idiomatic phrase.

a. *I am married to Ellen./*I am married with Ellen.*

b. *I am disappointed with/in you./*I am disappointed of you.*

While the above list of subcategorization errors for verbs is not exhaustive, it covers most of the frequent types of errors and provides enough in the way of representative examples for the discussion that follows. In the next section, we offer some general suggestions for determining whether a given error that we have classified as involving incorrect subcategorization really is such an error in the student's grammar. We then discuss some of the sources of lexical subcategorization errors.

Is It Really a Subcategorization Error?

Students at lower levels, or those at more advanced levels whose understanding of the syntactic structures and rules of English grammar is deficient, may produce certain of the above errors for reasons other than simply having an incorrect subcategorization frame for a given verb. Intermediate students, for example, may have had training and experience with infinitive complements but not understand the English gerund construction well enough to be able to use it productively. For such students an error like that in (9b) (**I enjoy to eat fish.*) may have as its source the lack of control over the gerund construction itself. Similarly, the untensed *that*-complement construction may even be unfamiliar to rather advanced ESL students, due both to its relative rarity and to the fact that is is not normally introduced until fairly late in the typical structurally based syllabus. An error like that in (11b)(**I request/require/demand that he is here every day at noon*), then, may be based on a general lack of awareness that the untensed *that* complement structure itself even exists. Consequently, before analyzing a given error as having an incorrect subcategorization of the verb as its source, it is necessary first to be certain that the student has sufficient knowledge of the grammatical construction represented in the subcategorization frame.

In some cases, it will be obvious to the teacher from previous experience with the student whether or not he or she is familiar with the grammatical construction in question. If prior experience with the student is not sufficient for making the decision, the teacher may be able to determine whether or not the student controls that construction by looking elsewhere in the current composition or previous ones. Has the student correctly used the construction in other sentences? If so, the error is likely to have an incorrect subcategorization as its source. A further way of making this determination, and the most effective one if the teacher has the opportunity, is to ask the student to attempt to correct the error (after merely indicating its presence but not the correction) and then to discuss the student's response.

Preventing and Correcting Subcategorization Errors: Some General Points

In a real sense, all lexical subcategorization errors stem from an incomplete knowledge of the word in question. There are at least four possible reasons for a student's using a word for which he or she does not have the appropriate subcategorization frame.

1. Lifting an unfamiliar word from a bilingual dictionary. As a general rule, a student's writing will probably be smoother, and there will be fewer errors in both subcategorization and word choice, if the student relies on the words he or she productively commands. If a bilingual dictionary is to be used, it is best to find one that at least gives sufficient examples for the student to be able to infer the common subcategorization frames for the verbs. Better still, the student should be taught to use the bilingual dictionary in tandem with learners' dictionaries (such as those from Oxford and Longman) which give the necessary subcategorization information along with other useful data.

2. Different lexical entries for learned and acquired English systems. Several current models of the language learning process, in particular Krashen (1982), make a distinction between linguistic information that has been learned and linguistic information that has been acquired. *Learned* information is conscious knowledge of the language that is the result of explicit instruction, while *acquired* information is unconscious knowledge resulting from exposure to the target language in

a natural environment. Whether or not one accepts Krashen's sharp division between these two types of knowledge, it is clear that students have information about words that they in some sense "know" but that they somehow fail to use this information in spontaneous speech or writing. For example, a student may have learned that *enjoy* and a number of other verbs take gerund complements, be able to correctly identify *enjoy* as belonging to that class on a test, and even be able to identify the error in (9b) when it is presented in isolation. Nevertheless, the student may still produce an error like (9b) in a composition. If Krashen is right, no amount of overt error correction in this case will shift the proper subcategorization frame of *enjoy* into the student's acquired system for use in spontaneous production. However, since many writing tasks are monitorable, the key to correcting this type of error would be to work on the student's proofreading skills. Students should be given a fair amount of training in looking at their own writing objectively and bringing all of their learned knowledge of English into play in the proofreading process.

3. Interference with the subcategorization of the L1 counterpart. While little is known about the internal structure of the EFL learner's lexicon, the pattern of errors suggests that students sometimes learn the form and meaning of an English word but link its subcategorization to the subcategorization frame of the same or a similar word in the L1. For example, in (13b) (**I congratulated to my friend*), the occurrence of *to* may result if the student's native language marks the noun phrase complement of its word for *congratulate* as an indirect object (e.g., with adative case ending). Similarly, intrusive *be* errors such as those in (7b) (**The strange event was occurred last May/*The problem is exist today in many countries*) may result from a student's L1 marking intransitives in this class with morphology that either is identical with or overlaps that used in passive constructions. If the teacher is familiar with the student's native language, some reflection on the teacher's part may help in identifying interference as the source of a particular subcategorization error. If not, the teacher can simply ask the student about the behavior of the verb in question. Besides potentially yielding the source of the given error, this technique has the added advantage of increasing the teacher's understanding of the student's native language and showing the student that the teacher has an active interest in it, which may in turn significantly increase the student's motivation to perform well in that particular class.

4. Semantic similarity to another English word with a different subcategorization frame. Another source for subcategorization errors might be called language-internal interference. This type of error occurs when a word which is only partially known is linked to the subcategorization frame of a more familiar one which is semantically similar. For example, *like* and *enjoy* are more or less synonymous in many contexts, and *like* is more frequent and is normally learned

before *enjoy*. As a result, an error like that in (9b) (**I enjoy to eat fish*) may stem from subcategorizing *enjoy* as allowing an infinitive complement by analogy to *like*. The extra *at* in (13b) (**I watched at the boys play*) may similarly have been added by analogy to *look at*. Making the student aware of such errors and having him or her maintain a list of troublesome verbs may decrease the chances of repeating this type of error for a given verb.

Lexical Redundancy Rules and Semantically Based Subcategorization Patterns.

Two final aspects of subcategorization that deserve mention are lexical redundancy rules and semantically based subcategorization patterns. *Lexical redundancy rules* are rules hypothesized by theoretical linguists to account for generalizations in lexical subcategorization frames, many of which were handled by transformations in earlier versions of transformational grammar. As is the case with other types of lexical rules, such as derivational or word formation rules, lexical redundancy rules have exceptions, which is why they have been dropped from the syntactic component in contemporary versions of transformational grammar and most other syntactic theories.

An example of a lexical redundancy rule is the one which captures the generalization that a particle can occur either immediately after the verb or after the object noun phrase, a generalization previously accounted for by the *particle movement* transformation. For instance, a two-word verb like *turn off* which appears in a sentence like *He turned off the light* can also appear in a sentence like *He turned the light off*. This relationship is handled in the lexicon by a lexical redundancy rule which states that any verb which can occur in the structure [*v* + particle + noun phrase] can also occur in the structure [*v* + noun phrase + particle], thus eliminating the need to specify the second subcategorization frame individually for each two-word verb. The few exceptions to the rule (such as *run into* in [5b]) are then marked as such in the student's internal lexicon as they are learned, with the verbs fitting the rule left unmarked.

Because they aid students in making generalizations similar to those made by native speakers, there is a certain value in teaching lexical redundancy rules, and formulations of many of them commonly appear as "rules of grammar" in grammar textbooks. It is important to remember, however, that they differ from the purely syntactic rules such as relative clause formation in that they do have exceptions, often a significant number.

Semantically based subcategorization patterns, on the other hand, differ from lexical redundancy rules in that there is a clear semantic basis for their existence, which gives the students a little more to hold onto in learning them. These patterns sometimes underlie lexical redundancy rules but just as often provide a reason for exceptions to those rules. For example, the prohibition on stative verbs occurring in the progressive aspect (as in [4b] **I am knowing French*) is an example of a pattern that has its basis in the semantic feature of stativity. Another intriguing example of a semantically based subcategorization pattern is the *Bolinger principle* discussed in Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983, pp. 434-436). This principle, named for its originator Dwight Bolinger, is used to distinguish verbs which take gerund complements from those which take infinitives. Briefly, the Bolinger principle states that if the action in the complement of a verb is in progress or already completed during the time frame of the main verb, then the complement will be a gerund, whereas if the action in the complement occurs after the time frame of the main verb or is hypothetical, then the complement will be a *to*-infinitive. For example, in the sentence *I recall getting/*to get up at 5:00 every morning when I had my paper route* the *getting up* occurred prior to the recalling of it so only the gerund can occur. In the sentence *I want to leave/*leaving at noon*, on the other hand, the act of leaving will occur sometime after the act of wanting, so the infinitive is used. For a verb such as *stop*, which is subcategorized to take either type of complement, the principle is clearly illustrated. In the sentence *I stopped drinking*, the drinking is already in progress at the time of the stopping, while in *I stopped to drink (or to take a drink)*, the stopping precedes the drinking. The Bolinger principle can be an aid to students in guessing the subcategorization frame for the complements of less familiar verbs; however, due to the large number of apparent exceptions to it, it should be applied with caution (see Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman [1983, pp. 437-440] for further discussion).

Through the examples and discussion above, we have attempted to clarify the nature of lexical subcategorization errors in order to help EFL writing teachers distinguish them from other types of grammar errors and deal with them at a lexical rather than a syntactic level. Even though all of the error types above have been noted elsewhere in the literature, in such works as Burt and Kiparsky (1972), Richards (1973); and Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983), their relationship to subcategorization has rarely, if ever, been made explicit. Similarly, while the idiosyncratic nature of most of the errors we discussed is probably well-known to the majority of EFL writing teachers, we hope the taxonomy of major error types we have presented and our discussion of their possible sources will aid in dealing with subcategorization errors in a more systematic fashion. If a teacher is going to bring the student's conscious attention to errors for explicit correction, it is useful to have as much information as possible about both the type of error and its underlying cause available for the student. ■

---

[1] We would like to thank John McVicker and John Graney for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper and Keiko Tamura for assisting us with the research on subcategorization. Any errors or omissions are our own.

Philip Hubbard is lecturer in linguistics and coordinator of summer programs in English for foreign students at Stanford University.

Donna Hix teaches ESL for the Ohio program of intensive English at Ohio University.

References

Burt, M. K. & Kiparsky, C. (1972) The gooficon: A repair manual for English Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Celce-Murcia, M. & Larsen-Freeman, D. (1983). *The grammarbook: An ESL/EFL teacher's course.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures.* The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (1982). *Lectures on government and binding: The Pisa lectures.* Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Hubbard, P. (1983, October). *Relational grammar and language teaching.* Paper presented at the Midwest Regional TESOL Convention, Minneapolis, MN.

Krashen, L.S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Radford, A. (1981). *Transformational syntax: A student's guide to Chomsky's extended standard theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.C. (1973). A noncontrastive approach to error analysis. In J. Oller & J. Richards (Eds.), *Focus on the learner: Pragmatic perspectives for the language teacher* (pp.96-113). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

The CATESOL Journal

ELIZABETH LEITE
Mt. Diablo Unified School District

Using Classroom Space: From Traditional Rows to Musical Chairs

CATESOL EXCHANGE

One frequently ignored component of the language lesson is the physical utilization of space—how students will be positioned in the classroom and how they will be grouped within that space. This Where factor may be ignored because of our own culturally delineated notions of conventional class management. Placement of groupings depends on teacher flexibility. Can we vary our role in a particular lesson, the role of our students, or the role the environment serves in the learning process? Varied space arrangements and well organized student configurations are conducive to different kinds of language tasks and can provide rich educational rewards. This is as true of adult level instruction as elementary, where groupings and space variations have always been the norm.

Some of us may have fond memories of rest time on the rug, sharing-circles in front of the room and reading groups in the corner. And, of course, simultaneous educational stations are an important part of the day in primary classrooms throughout California today. Why, then, have desks traditionally been arranged in rows in intermediate and secondary language learning situations? Cultural attitudes regarding the roles of teacher and student provide the answer. Where the teacher acts as a disciplinarian and truth giver, it is best to have all eyes forward and all mouths shut. However, since language is the vehicle for communication and communication is interactive and involves the negotiation of meaning, how can the student successfully practice oral language skills while facing the back of someone's head? Obviously, a row-on-row design may not always be the best for language instruction. The development of fluency, for example, depends on interactive experiences (Brown & Yule, 1983).

There are, of course, instances where students must function as individual learners working independently. When the teacher acts as overseer—questioning, modeling, lecturing, and doing what we traditionally call "teaching"—the students may be seated in horizontal or vertical rows, in a U-shaped arrangement of desks or tables, or in a semicircle. In the latter two designs, students have fewer opportunities to tune out because of proximity factors; no one can hide. Students as singles may be involved in listen-and-repeat activities, communication drills between teacher and student, individual reading or writing assignments, listening tasks, or tests. They may be repeating, responding, forming questions and answers, doing written seatwork, or taking notes.

In pair work, on the other hand, the focus is on collaboration. Students pair with a neighbor, or select a partner, or the teacher may choose who works with whom. The teacher acts as a manager, assigning a task to be carried out between pairs of students and then monitoring performance. Possible tasks include two-person dialogs, role plays, information gap tasks where students must elicit each others' data, peer editing and evaluation, or problem solving. Tasks may be precommunicative, offering opportunities for practicing specific forms and functions, or communicative and open ended, where meanings are primary (Littlewood, 1981). Students may work with an adjacent person at a table, arrange moveable chairs about the room side by side in an apparently helter skelter fashion, or butt desks end on end to promote face-to-face conversations.

Group work provides a larger interactive design, with several students together reaching a common understanding or goal. The teacher may not only facilitate the learning process through careful preparation and class management, but also participate within the group itself as one of the gang. As with pairs, the students' role is interactive. Small group discussions, role plays and dialogs, games, editing groups, problem solving activities, brainstorming tasks—all easily fit this format. Here we are looking for the beneficial aspects of pooling background information, grammatical competence, and personalities. This may not always be positive, and each task must be properly assessed as to how students will best learn what needs to be taught. Will the group experience enhance or interfere (Reid, 1987)?

Groupings and placements always require prior consideration. For example, who should be grouped with whom? Groups can be homogeneous or heterogeneous according to sex, culture, degree of intimacy and compatibility, or ability level. They can be student or teacher determined. Random groupings can be created by ingenious devices such as birth month, sock color, or first initials. Varying grouping methods forces students to upgrade listening comprehension skills and encourages following directions.

Once groups have been delineated, they can be positioned. Should student groups move to the corners of the classroom? Should one or two groups move outside to the hall in order to encourage concentration and privacy? Perhaps this is the occasion for groups to leave the classroom altogether to perform cultural observations or broader communication among native speakers.

Sometimes group work becomes a kind of team experience. Here the teacher is director. Students participate as a class split in half, not as independent learners, partners, or group members, but as team players arranged on opposite sides of the room. Some possible activities which match such an arrangement include jazz chants, spelling bees, and other games. One side of the room may vie against the other, recite song verses or lines in turn, raise questions or provide answers, take parts in chants, readings, and dialogs.

In whole class activities, the focus is on building contexts for language learning and sharing experiences which maximize language use. These kinds of lessons are at the opposite end of a continuum from row-on-row individual learners completing seatwork. The teacher will oversee, participate, and, it is hoped, enjoy the activity along with the students. Such tasks may include (a) whole class discussions where students remain in seats but participate as a class, (b) concentric circle formations where students exchange partners several times during the lesson as they practice a function or perform a task (Wong, 1987), (c) move-around games requiring simultaneous participation by all class members such as finding the other half of a proverb or the answer to a question, (d) excursions and study trips beyond the classroom, and (e) culminating activities which justify a thematic unit or provide closure (e.g., shared potluck meals, organized sports events, or content based "academic olympics"). Such physical arrangements may be ordered or random, circles or lines, clusterings or wanderings, but will involve everyone. They are lifelike and are often noisy. They may even appear chaotic. The teacher cannot always predict what language will occur. These activities offer time for risks and unknown outcomes.

In "I like people who...," a whole-class grammar activity, students sit in a circle on chairs, and, as in musical chairs, there is one less seat than participants. The teacher is initially *It* in order to explain and model the game. It makes a *like*-statement which is relevant to only some of the students: "I like people who wear sandals;" "I like people who intend to study engineering;" "I like people who think that one should never eat pickles with ice cream." The complexity of the statement will depend on the desired structural practice and student proficiency. The students must decide if the statement applies to them; if so, they must change seats. During the seat changing It tries to find a seat and if successful, there is now a new It (the student without a seat). An important rule is that players may not change to adjacent seats. Another is that all *like*-statements must pertain to more than one player.

This game, an adaptation of a popular native speaker party game, is an excellent listening comprehension activity. It is also a superb source of group coherence, interaction, sentence formation, and structural practice. It engenders much oral language, laughter, and even exercise. Low-level students can be highly successful and advanced students can be self-reflective and clever, using very creative, and intellectually and structurally complex language. The teacher has stepped down from the podium. The entire group is involved in a circular arrangement with students and teacher coparticipating. It's an occasion for much spontaneous oral language; it's noisy and playful and linguistically rich.

In the oral language class we are always engineering social occasions for talk (Richards, 1983). How can we optimize interactions? Sometimes we choose formats which are highly successful devices for language learning although initially awkward for the students due to their educational expectations. One such format is the game described above. Within the classroom setting unconventional formats involving the Where factor are pedagogically appropriate, however, and our students profit from them. As we develop lessons, we must examine our own attitudes toward control and disruption, politeness and privacy, silence and noise, interaction and confusion, education and innovation, expectations and evaluation. When designing our lessons to suit individual teaching and learning styles and specific instructional goals, how can space utilization become a significant asset to learning? A language teacher can find many ways to take advantage of this often neglected educational component. ■

Elizabeth Leite teaches ESL in the Mt. Diablo Unified School District. Previously she taught ESL to immigrant and refugee adults as well as EFL in the intensive language school setting. She holds an MA in TESL from San Francisco State University and several California teaching credentials, including the language development specialist certificate.

References

Brown, G. & Yule, G. (1983). *Teaching the spoken language.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Littlewood, W. (1981). *Communicative language teaching.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Reid, J. M. (1987). The learning style preferences of ESL students *TESOL Quarterly, 21,* 87-111.

Richards, J. C. & Schmidt, R. W. (1983). Conversational analysis. In J. Richards & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and communication* (pp. 117-155). London: Longman.

Wong, R. (1987) *Teaching pronunciation: Focus on English rhythm and intonation.* New York:Center for Applied Linguistics/Prentice Hall, Inc.

The CATESOL Journal

ALICE M. ROY
California State University, Los Angeles

Teachers' and Administrators' Concerns About the TOEFL Test of Written English[1]

CATESOL EXCHANGE

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) now includes a 30-minute direct writing assessment, the Test of Written English (TWE) (Greenberg, 1986; Stansfield, 1986; Stansfield & Webster, 1986). It is graded holistically, on a 6-point scale, by trained readers. The test has, up to now, been administered on some but not all test dates, and its use by university administrators as part of entrance criteria for applicants is optional. Indeed, the TWE is still so new that many university administrators do not know of its existence and those who do have not had sufficient experience with it to have an adequate sense of its advantages or problems.

In contrast, administrators of English/American Language Institutes (ELIs/ALIs) have more immediate knowledge of the TWE and more direct interest in it because of their role in preparing students to take the TOEFL. To investigate practitioners' sense of this new instrument, I interviewed several professionals in the fields of English as a second language and composition. The types of positions held by the interviewees were: administrators or assistant administrators of ELIs/ALIs, chair of an English department, coordinator of a writing program for international students within an English department, testing specialist, directors of teacher preparation, and teachers in ELIs/ALIs. (Some of these positions overlapped.) Two of the subjects were involved in the development of topics of the TWE itself, and 3 were readers at the TWE grading sessions. Altogether, 8 professionals were interviewed. Although these informants have preferred to remain anonymous, the information they provided shows some common concerns among ESL and composition teachers and administrators.

Amount of Time for the Essay

The TWE was developed after surveys of faculty in various fields, both at the professional and undergraduate levels, showed two topic types to be most "authentic and valid" (Stansfield & Webster, 1986, p. 17): one, *comparison-contrast plus defense of a position*; the other, *analysis and interpretation of a chart or graph* (Greenberg, 1986, pp. 535-536). Some of the interviewees questioned whether these topic types can be addressed adequately within the short time available for writing the TWE essays. That is, you might often assign a comparison-contrast plus position but would you ask for such a piece of writing to be done in 30 minutes?

Difference Between the Two Topic Types

Educational Testing Service (ETS) researchers have found through pretesting that the performance on the task of argument using comparison-contrast as an organizational strategy correlates so highly with performance on the chart-graph interpretation that only one sample need be taken. Therefore, at each administration of the TWE, one or the other of these two topic-tasks is presented (Stansfield & Webster, 1986). Despite this reassurance in the literature, most people interviewed felt that the topics requiring comparison-contrast plus position were too different from those requiring chart-graph interpretations to have face validity (Greenberg, 1986). That is, test researchers may be able to show to their satisfaction that two apparently different tasks give the same value of evidence or result, but if users perceive too great a difference in the tasks themselves, they will not have confidence in the measurement. However, ETS test makers have never claimed that the two topic types elicited the same writing skills, only that writers would score roughly the same on either of the two writing tasks.

Differences Among Comparison-Contrast Topics.

In any one administration of the TWE, three different topics are used. One reader at a TWE grading session expressed concern because of the three topics being read in a particular grading session, the topic of the advantages and disadvantages of having a factory built near your town did not elicit as much text overall as did the topic of the comparative values of learning by experience or learning through books and schooling. The logistics of giving a world-wide test come into play here. The TOEFL is given on a single date several times a year. However, enterprising test takers can arrange for someone to take the test on the same date in an earlier time zone and call ahead with information about the test. Therefore, the globe is divided into three different time zones and different topics are given in each place. As it turns out, the factory topic at this particular test administration was given in Asia, and according to one researcher, Asians generally produce shorter text than, say, Europeans. As the test givers are able to provide more information to people involved in the teaching, scoring, and receiving roles of the TWE, such concerns as this one may diminish.

Teaching to the Test

Although the TESL literature of the past 10 years gives careful attention to rhetorical strategies and analysis of various types of written discourse, it is unlikely that such attention has yet filtered to the TOEFL "cram schools" that exist in the United States and abound in other parts of the world. Some ELIs/ALIs try hard not to teach merely for taking the TOEFL. The extent of this more academic orientation may depend partly on how closely connected such institutions or programs are to academic departments. However, as one director of an ELI pointed out, for many institutes, TOEFL preparation is their sole reason for being. It seems a shame, one director of a composition program suggested, that attention to writing in TOEFL preparation schools may be limited to two quite specific models, the comparison-contrast plus position and the chart-graph interpretation.

Training of ESL Teachers

The problem of teaching to the test exists not only at TOEFL schools in other countries. In the U.S., at the university level, ESL teacher-training programs do not yet include enough theory or research in the teaching of writing, although a few programs at the forefront do include course work in this area. The development of the TWE may lead to the expansion of the writing component in teacher preparation, but we need to take care that we do not allow consciousness of the TWE to foster a narrowly instrumental mode of teaching and a dependent mode of learning.

Greenberg (1986) asserts that ESL professionals can have an effect on testing by voicing their concerns. The interviews reported here reflect the feeling that finally the importance of direct assessment of writing has been acknowledged and that, as a result, more people will see the value of attending to writing in ESL teaching. Although the likelihood of teaching to the test—that is, teaching the specific forms of the test essays to the exclusion of other types of writing— is a major source of concern for ESL professionals involved in writing, there is a sense in which teaching for the test may be beneficial: As a director of ESL teacher training said, where before you didn't have to think about writing for TOEFL, now you do. ■

[1] This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Conference on College Composition and Communication, 1987. I appreciate the time and information contributed by the participants in the research as well as helpful comments by anonymous reviewers.

Alice M. Roy is assistant professor of English and linguistics and composition coordinator at California State University, Los Angeles.

References

Greenberg, K. L. (1986). The development and validation of the TOEFL writing test: A discussion of TOEFL research reports 15 and 19. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 531-544.

Stansfield, C. W. (1986). *A history of the Test of Written English: The developmental year.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Research in Language Testing, in honor of John Carroll and Robert Lado, Kiryat Anavim, Israel. (To appear in *Language Testing.*)

Stansfield, C. W. & Webster, R. (1986, October). The new TOEFL writing test. *TESOL Newsletter*, pp. 17-18.

The CATESOL Journal

PAUL M. KAMENY
Language Programs Design

Tips on Working Effectively with a Multicultural Work Force

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Starting Your Employee Out on the Right Track

Orientation helps all employees whether they are foreign born or native. With foreign born employees you must take special care to explain both expressed guidelines and implied guidelines.

For example: Employees of a Silicon Valley company may wear sport shirts to work, which may appear very casual. In reality the company is formally structured and has a tight management chain of command. The new employee may see only the informal dress.

New employees should be told that it is appropriate to call people by their first name. Many Asian, European, and Latin American employees take offense at being called by their first names. It is as if you were addressed by a familiar nickname at work. Many new employees will understand the use of first names but will insist on adding *Miss* or *Mr.* to that first name. *Miss Carol* or *Mr. Sam* can be very irritating to the other employees.

You may also want to explain to Asian employees that eye contact is important when talking to someone. To an Asian, not making eye contact is a sign of respect. Americans would consider lack of eye contact to mean that the employee is hiding something.

There are many other suggestions that you can get from your multicultural employees that will help the new employees fit in comfortably. All employees can benefit by having clearly defined social parameters in the work setting.

Helpful On-the-Job Tips

Loudness

Many Americans feel that if they are not being understood they should speak louder to a foreign born employee. This creates a negative effect on that person. That worker may feel that his suprvisor is angry with him.

Using Sarcasm

Avoid friendly sarcasm. For example: Your employee has just finished a lot of work. You say in a friendly way, "It looks like you haven't done anything all day." Most foreign born employees will take this as an insult, either because they don't use sarcasm in their culture or they take everything a person says literally.

Speaking

Speak slowly and clearly to your foreign born employee. You should maintain a natural intonation. It's best for the native speaker to repeat the exact sentence or word if repetition is requested. Include the foreign born employee in conversations. Give time for the employee to speak, ask questions, and reply. Allow the employee to finish speaking before you speak.

It is also helpful if you explain idioms or slang expressions when you use them. If you say, *Catch you later* or *Let's hit the books*, individuals from other countries may not understand. You may also make a small dictionary of company jargon.

Asking Questions

Avoid questions that can only be answered by *yes* or *no*. Too often employees are brought up not to say *no* to a person who is perceived as having higher status. If we understood their first language we would realize that there are different gradations of *yes*. For example: There is *yes, but not now* or *yes, but I do not want to do it*.

Avoiding yes/no questions will help the foreign born employee to become more expressive and specific. You may want to ask, for example, *Do you want to have lunch now or later?* This gives the worker a chance to elaborate more on the answer.

Assertiveness

Many foreign born employees feel that their job may be in jeopardy if they express their opinions. Supervisors should encourage these employees by showing them how to make suggestions. We once worked with an engineering department and had its students go to their supervisors and make one suggestion. A Latin American engineer was afraid to do that. She finally did make the suggestion and saved the company $100,000.

Using Tag Questions

A tag question can be a negative confirmation of a statement. For example, the limited English speaker may interpret *The mail came, didn't it?* as *The mail didn't come.* Avoid using tag questions with your foreign born employee whenever possible.

Practice and Support

Give your foreign born employees a chance to practice and develop their English skills. Even though the employees may find it difficult to converse, supervisors should make a point of talking to them.

Be supportive if you find them making an effort to use and practice their English. Most employees will appreciate your correction if you let the employee finish what he or she has to say before offering correction. Never correct an employee's English in front of other employees. The key to helping is to be sincere when making corrections and be a careful listener.

Writing Clearly

Put instructions in their correct order. Do not change the order by using sequence words or phrases like *before,* or *don't . . . until.* For example: *Before you turn on the machine, look,* or *When you turn on the machine, look around.* In these examples, if your operator doesn't understand the key words, he hears the wrong sequence of order, which in this case would be very dangerous on the shop floor.

Testing

Write to the level of your employees. An easy test of reading, which only takes 10 minutes to administer, is the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT). Curriculum writers find this test valuable when writing manuals for lower level employees.

Upper Level Employees

Upper level foreign born employees, who studied English in their native country, do not usually have difficulty reading or writing English when they are at the intermediate level. Reading and writing a new language is much easier than learning to speak a new language. Technicians and professionals have usually mastered the technical jargon of their field but may have trouble with general oral communications or emergencies.

Defining the National Character

The *Predeparture Handbook: For Foreign Students and Scholars Planning to Study in the United States* (1985), published by the United States Information Agency, notes the following peculiarities among residents of the United States:

> Americans are informal with each other, even when there is a great difference in age or social standing. This is not disrespectful or rude but an established aspect of the culture.
>
> Americans are competitive, even in conversation. A quick, witty reply is a subtle form of competition natural to Americans.
>
> Americans are obsessed with records of achievements: business charts line office walls; sports trophies are displayed.

Americans ask a lot of questions, some of them pointless, uninformed or intensely personal. They are expressing their genuine interest.

Americans are generally on time; they keep calenders and schedules. They may seem "in a hurry" or brusque. This is how they get many things done.

Silence makes Americans nervous. Small talk is preferred to a large conversation. ■

Paul M. Kameny has an MA from San Francisco State University in educational administration. He is the director of Language Programs Design and vice-president of Language Resource Institute in San Francisco.

Reference

Predeparture handbook: For foreign students and scholars planning to study in the United States. (1985). Manila: USIA Publications.

The CATESOL Journal

CAROLYN BAKER
San Jose State University

Review

Interactive Reading

Suzanne Salimbene. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1986. Pp. v + 184.

EFL teacher trainers, reading specialists, materials writers, and applied linguists everywhere can learn much from Suzanne Salimbene's *Interactive Reading* for two reasons: It presents a unified set of high-level strategies that could dramatically improve anyone's reading and is an absorbing case study in the production of a student textbook explicitly based on psycholinguistic insights. Growing out of doctoral research Salimbene performed at the University of London Institute of Education under the supervision of Henry G. Widdowson, who contributed its foreword, *Interactive Reading* presents 10 authentic, advanced-level texts from sources such as news magazines and academic coursebooks, together with abundant instructions and practice in the reading strategies. Writing activities exploring the usefulness of the same strategies to composition complete each unit. Salimbene pilot tested portions of the materials at the American College of Greece and at UCLA. For reasons that will become clear, I have not used the book in my own classes but did try the interactive reading strategy in personal reading with gratifying results.

The basic theory, as stated by Widdowson in the foreword, is that:

> Written text is essentially a set of directions which indicate to readers where they are to look for significance in their own knowledge of the world as derived from individual experience and the social conventions of their culture . . . The text, the actual appearance of signs on the page, does not therefore itself contain meaning but provides the occasion for meaning to be achieved in the act of reading. (p. v)
>
> (Sources and discussion of these ideas may be traced in e.g. Alderson & Urquhart, 1984; Devine, Carrell, & Eskey, 1987; Rumelhart, 1984; Widdowson, 1984; and Williams, 1986. An excellent introduction to the theory and practice of interactive reading for L1 primary teachers, with some attention to ESL, is May, 1986.)

Skeptics might agree that good readers "construct meaning," but isn't the problem for poor and second language readers just that they don't know all the words? Salimbene's answer to the dilemma is to treat the learner as a good reader on the way to becoming better; without neglecting vocabulary building, she makes it an end point rather than a beginning of reading improvement. Her sequences of instructional activity invariably begin with mobilizing the learner's background knowledge; then through various kinds of comprehension-developing dialogs—teacher with learner, reader with author, learner with peer, and learner with self—she gradually focuses attention on essential details. The information gained this way from a given paragraph becomes part of the broad general knowledge with which the learner begins the next paragraph. Under Salimbene's direction, learners work through successive paragraphs of text trying out new ways to read and sharing the procedures and results.

Salimbene fully explains to learners that (1) it is helpful to experience reading as a dialog and (2) it isn't necessary to read, or even to know, all the words. Prereading work consists of predicting, on the basis of the title alone, what the contents, organization, and even writer's opinion will be. If the title is a metaphor like that of Unit 1, "Your Verbal Maps," the implications of this are exhaustively mined. Readers then survey the first and last paragraphs, section headings and graphic material, checking their guesses and adjusting expectations. With the reader's background knowledge, however scanty, affirmed, and the author's intentions clarified, the reader can enter assertively into dialog with the author, actually writing his or her side in spaces provided after every sentence of text. Initially these reader comments may be as simple as *Ok. So what?* and *What's your point?* Salimbene shows readers how to deepen communication with an author by insisting on getting answers to one's questions—utilizing logical, organizational, syntactic, and context clues—and by summarizing ideas even before the whole text is finished.

A typical activity introducing the sampling strategy helps persuade readers that comprehension is not a matter of attending mechanistically to every word. Groups identify a paragraph's topic, message, and supporting evidence, then cross out all unnecessary words. They rewrite the paragraph, now telegraphic, leaving blanks for omitted words. Groups exchange papers, discovering that the choice of unnecessary words differs. This exercise builds learners' expertise in identifying key ideas, shows that construction of meaning is an individual responsibility, yet does not neglect the word level.

The emphasis on reader questioning recalls the 3QPR method sometimes used in American schools in which subheadings are turned into questions to be answered by purposeful reading. Salimbene's method is special in her principled aversion to letting the learner answer other people's comprehension-testing questions, even putative ones. Whereas a respected EAP text might ask, following a reading titled, for example, "Marine Life":

True or false: A sea anemone is a plant.

Salimbene teaches the learner to ask, before reading begins:

What lives in the sea besides fish?

The first, more conventional question (even if inferencing is involved) assumes reading comprehension is best advanced when learners stuff themselves with all the information, then analyze questions to find out what they should have noticed the first time, becoming adept in reading questions, and in effect depending on them. In the interactive process, learners finish the first reading with a set of answers that can be applied to any questions that may come up, with new knowledge consciously connected to old, ready for recycling in fresh reading or reconstitution in an essay or discussion. Clearly the second type is the more desirable skill for content reading, with wide applicability at all levels of education.

Interactive reading can lead to significant change in one's conception of the writing task and to improvement in cogency and clarity. Salimbene's writing activities begin with question, dialog, and paragraph writing done in pairs in which learners paraphrase the unit, playing the roles of writer and reader, checking what one another needs to understand. Later, learners summarize a whole text from notes taken as answers to their own questions, construct and answer essay questions, and develop whole compositions as an author/reader dialog.

Teachers interested in testing the theory will unfortunately find some problems with the book. A fundamental weakness is failure to provide a clear role for the classroom teacher or in some way engage him or her as an enthusiastic partner in putting the strategies across. Perhaps inevitably, lessons read like transcripts of Salimbene's own classes; they are all of a piece and cumulative, a full-scale reading course in which later units refer to content, not only strategies, from earlier lessons, and the presentation of strategies is intricately interwoven with text content, the sharing of exercises, and the rationale for the method. Salimbene's voice is omnipresent. It is not evident what the classroom teacher can or should be doing besides acting as an aide. Later, when Salimbene's instruction drops off and texts to be read are as long as 5,000 words (12 pages), the classroom teacher wanting to maintain the quality of the instruction must now be a discourse analyst as astute as Salimbene herself, as there is no teacher's guide. First eclipsed and then abandoned, the classroom teacher is further undermined by Salimbene's choice of 7 of her 10 texts from the 50s, 60s, and early 70s which in the bland, long-winded style of the period discuss such topics as the pollution of drinking water by sewage, the nature of statistical methods, astronomy up to Galileo, and human perception. Salimbene wants learners to test their interactive skills on solid subject matter; most teachers, however, are looking for more intrinsically motivating fare.

Graphic design is another weak spot. Book users will be confused trying to separate the bit of text under discussion from what Salimbene is saying about it. Visual organizing devices such as facing pages for text and commentary or two colors of print are badly needed so that readers can follow the instruction without needless floundering. These problems are serious enough to discourage even a patient and interested native English reader like myself; advanced language learners will very likely get a first impression of dullness and impenetrability. In my opinion, the problems are not the fault of the theory, but they will prevent the materials and thus the theory from receiving broad trial.

Salimbene deserves great credit for painstaking preparation of the lessons and seeing them through to publication without trivialization or imposed marketing gimmicks. Next time, though, it would be well worth finding a consultant or coauthor with the necessary objectivity to put the manuscript in more classroom-ready final form. ■

References

Alderson, J. & Urquhart, A. (Eds.). (1984). *Reading in a foreign language*. London: Longman.

Devine, J., Carrell P., & Eskey, D. (Eds.). (1987). *Research in reading in ESL*. Washington, D.C.: TESOL

May, F. (1986). *Reading as communication: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Columbus, OH: Merrill.

Rumelhart, D. (1984). Understanding understanding. In J. Flood (Ed.), *Understanding reading comprehension* (pp.1-20). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Widdowson, H. G. (1984). Reading and communication. In J. C. Alderson and A. H. Urquhart (Eds.), *Reading in a foreign language* (pp. 213-230). London: Longman

Williams, R. (1986). Top ten principles for teaching reading. *ELT Journal, 40,* 42-45.

The CATESOL Journal

DENISE E. MURRAY
San Jose State University

Review

Strategies for Readers: A Reading/Communication Text for Students of ESL. Books 1 and 2.

Christine Pearson Casanave. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986. Pp. 138 and 204.

Reading theory has run the full gambit of possibilities—from simply decoding to accessing both structural and content schemata (see, for example, Carrell, 1983, 1984, 1987). What most theories hold in common is the cognitive nature of reading. Similarly, the process approach to writing has focused almost exclusively on the cognitive processes involved in writing (see, for example, Flower & Hayes, 1981). More recently, composition researchers and theorists have called for a better understanding of the social nature of writing by drawing attention to the fact that writing is a communicative act, arising out of a discourse community (see, for example, LeFevre, 1987). Such writers all make the same claim: Writing is not the solitary act of the Platonic tradition; it arises from the interaction among people, contexts, and texts. The closest reading theory has come to such a socially constructed view, is the claim that reading is a dialog between writer and reader. This view, however, still focuses on the solitary reader making sense of the writer's text, albeit against a background of shared knowledge. Interestingly, Casanave, in *Strategies for Readers* grounds her prereading activities in "the psycholinguistic and schema-theoretic conceptualization of reading" (p. viii), yet, with a classroom teacher's understanding of effective methodology, encourages small group work, thus setting up discourse communities in which to situate reading. The strength and value of these two textbooks lie in this combination of theory and pedagogy, of reading and communicating.

The audience for these two texts is low-intermediate young adult and adult students of ESL in college preparation programs. The first volume uses concrete and familiar subjects as reading topics (e.g., "Names," "Substances") but deals with them as one would more academic topics. The topics in the second volume increase in abstractness, length, and difficulty (e.g., "The Common Cold," "World Population") and are more like the readings we have come to expect in a college text. Casanave's choice of more familiar topics for *Book 1* is an advantage since students work with familiar content in an unfamiliar way. In other words, the books move from readings in which the content is not cognitively demanding but the tasks are academic to ones in which both content and task are demanding (a progression advocated by Cummins, 1981). Teachers will use the books most effectively if they pay attention to the "Information for Teachers" provided at the beginning of each book. In this section, Casanave sets out the organization of the book, her rationale for the activities, and classroom activities, such as the use of small group work previously mentioned. She makes many points that help us rethink our traditional ways of teaching reading, such as the following:

> All activities in both volumes of *Strategies for Readers* begin with directions. *The directions should be considered reading matter* [emphasis in the original]. The ability to read and understand directions is perhaps the most basic of the reading abilities our students must acquire. (p. x)

The prereading activities involve communication to activate students' background knowledge and interaction with the reading by asking students to scan, predict, question, and so forth. These activities encourage active involvement that facilitates reading comprehension.

The early reading selections are short, gently guiding students towards articles of more academic length with footnotes and tables. Students, therefore, are not overwhelmed by the reading task but gain confidence in their own ability to read English. Vocabulary is dealt with through prereading activities and glosses as footnotes to the readings.

An important aspect of these books is that extensive and varied exercises follow the readings. These include comprehension checks that range from true/false questions to summaries. Exercises focus on reading strategies such as inferencing, categorizing, and predicting and on study skills such as summarizing and organizing. Other exercises focus on language use, in particular, logical word goups and cohesive devices. In the author's words, "Logical Word Groups help students understand the importance of perceiving grammatically related groups of words while reading" (p. xi). Still others depend solely on students' own knowledge and interests, such as agreeing or disagreeing with various statements or doing word analogy exercises. Such exercises, since they have no right or wrong answers, stimulate student interest and reduce anxiety in the classroom. However, we must introduce such exercises very carefully to students since many come from educational systems in which personal opinion is not necessarily valued and there are always "right" answers. Each chapter ends with a communicative activity and extra reading. The communicative activities require students to tap their own knowledge and interests, thus concluding each chapter on a positive note.

Both volumes are professionally illustrated and laid out. Headings and directions help students know what they are to do next and what it is about.

Strategies for Readers successfully achieves its goal as a reading and communication text for low-intermediate ESL readers. The careful blend of sound pedagogy and theoretical principles has produced a text that encourages students to be readers of English. Most students will find they will need more advanced reading selections before they can adequately handle their college studies in Englsh; but, given the groundwork of reading strategies they have learned using these texts, they should be able to apply those strategies to more academic texts and tasks. ■

References

Carrell, P. (1983). Three components of background knowledge in reading comprehension. *Language Learning, 33,* 183-207.

Carrell, P. (1984). Evidence for a formal schema in second language comprehension. *Language Learning, 34,* 87-112.

Carrell, P. (1987). Content and formal schemata in ESL reading. *TESOL Quarterly, 17,* 553-574.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework (p. 12). Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center, California State University.*

Flower, L. & Hayes, J. (1981). A cognitive process theory of writing. College Composition and Communication, 32 (4), 365-387.

LeFevre, K. B. (1987). *Invention as a social act.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Editorial Policy

The CATESOL Journal focuses primarily on the teaching of English as a second or foreign language, standard English as a second dialect, and bilingual education. That is, the journal provides a forum for highlighting the innovative teaching going on at all levels in schools, colleges, and universities. Original articles can focus on a particular technique, problem, or situation, but readers should be able to generalize insights from these articles to their own particular situation.

Articles can be of three types:

1. Full length (10-20 pages including bibliography).
2. "CATESOL Exchange" (up to 8 pages). These articles can be personal viewpoints on issues, techniques, and classroom practices which are particularly effective.
3. Reviews of books and other published materials, including software (up to 8 pages).

The journal will be published at least annually.

It is understood that manuscripts submitted to **The CATESOL Journal** have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Manuscripts submitted cannot be returned. It is assumed authors keep copies for themselves.

Submissions are welcome at any time but if you wish your article to be considered for the forthcoming issue, please submit by May 1, 1989.

Authors should submit four copies of manuscripts, typewritten, double spaced to:

Denise Murray
Linguistics Program
San Jose State University
San Jose, California 95192

or

Dorothy Messerschmitt
School of Education
University of San Francisco
San Francisco, California 94117

Manuscripts should conform to the conventions specified in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.*

Include a title page with:

Name
Address
Telephone number
Affiliation
50 word bio-data information

Number the remaining pages consecutively with a brief abstract as page one. Place the page number and title in the upper right hand corner. Please do not include your name on the additional pages.

Tables and figures must be camera ready.

NOTES

TIME: WE THE PEOPLE

SELECTED ESL/EFL READINGS THAT INTRODUCE THE UNITED STATES TO ITS NEWEST CITIZENS.

This fascinating collection of specially selected articles from recent issues of *Time* magazine is unique, exciting reading and culture text for ESL/EFL students at the high intermediate and advanced levels.

Students will be delighted in viewing the United States and its people through the eyes of *Time* magazine, America's leading newsweekly. 46 interesting, informative articles have been selected for the reader . . . grouped into seven critical categories that reflect various aspects of contemporary life in the United States: *Lifestyles, Education, Environment, Science and Technology, Health and Fitness, Sports and Entertainment, Fads and Fashions.*

Each article is accompanied by pre-reading background notes on culture and vocabulary, plus a variety of post-reading questions and activities that encourage students to practice and develop their English language skills as they discuss the topics presented in the articles. Numerous photos, illustrations and graphs accompany each article as well, providing added stimulating subjects for discussion and comparison with the students' homelands and culture.

TIME: WE THE PEOPLE addresses a wide range of contemporary American issues and interests, opening the curtain onto the vast panorama of our culture and society. From traffic jams to smoking bans . . . from computer games to cosmetic surgery, this new reader is ideal for your ESL/EFL classroom.

Softbound, 8½" x 11", 160 pages, #7461-5	$12.95
Teacher's Manual, #7462-3	$7.95

National Textbook Company
a division of *NTC Publishing Group*
4255 West Touhy Avenue
Lincolnwood, Illinois 60646-1975
TOLL-FREE 1-800-323-4900
(In Illinois, 1-312-679-5500)

Free catalog upon request

Available January, 1989